THE HISTORY

OF

HYDUR NAIK,

OTHERWISE STYLED

SHUMS UL MOOLK, AMEER UD DOWLA,

NAWAUB HYDUR ALI KHAN BAHADOOR, HYDUR JUNG;

NAWAUB OF THE KARNATIC BALAGHAUT:

WRITTEN BY

MEER HUSSEIN ALI KHAN KIRMANI.

TRANSLATED

FROM AN ORIGINAL PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT,

IN THE LIBRARY OF

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

BY

COLONEL W. MILES,

OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

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TO THE QUEEN'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MADAM,

I venture to offer my humble and most grateful thanks for the permission granted me to dedicate to YOUR MAJESTY the following Translation of a Manuscript, placed in the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society by the favour of YOUR MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

Upon this occasion I cannot approach YOUR MAJESTY, the Daughter of my Brother's early patron, the illustrious DUKE OF KENT AND STRATHERN, to whose condescension and kindness, I and my family are indebted for many lasting obligations, without the expression of the deepest feelings of acknowledgment and gratitude.

That long and happy may be YOUR MAJESTY'S Reign is the sincere wish and prayer of YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most obedient,

and devoted Subject, and Servant,

WILLIAM MILES,

Colonel, Indian Army.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The Persian Language, as any one at all acquainted with it is aware, delights in inflated description, pompous imagery, sounding epithets, and in all extravagant figures; and according to the character of the writer, this genius or affection of the language is frequently carried to the verge of absurdity—that is, absurdity as measured by our scale.

To suppress or soften these peculiarities when very wild, and retain them when deserving to be kept, is I think, indispensable, and in my translation of this work, I have tried hard to conform to this rule, although I may not perhaps have always succeeded in my endeavour.

It must however be observed, that in most cases these ornaments as *they* and extravagancies as *we*

call them, are applicable to themselves alone—for, with regard to their enemies these descriptions are as tame as it is possible for them to be, and some times so obscure, that without long practice no one can understand them.

In some places, therefore, as I suppose must occur in most translations, I have been obliged to change the person, tense, and order of the words and sentences; to reject for the sake of brevity and clearness many of the parallel or synonymous terms;—to omit most of the high sounding epithets accompanying the names of Hydur Alí, Tippoo, their families, &c.; and lastly to abridge much of that poetic licence which is natural to the Persian language.

With respect to the Indian names of persons and places, it may be proper to remark, that in English authors they are very incorrectly spelled, and in some cases altogether changed:—As, for instance, Fuzzel oolla, for Fyze ullah; Ooscote, for Huskote; Dunnully, for Dewun Hulli; Chittapet, for Jeeth Peeth;[a] Malwagle, for Murwakul, &c. &c. To avoid, if possible, following these examples, I write the words as they are written in the Persian MS.; but, notwithstanding this precaution, I fear that many names are still mispelt.

[a] The town or Suburb of Victory.

The history of the Rajas, or Ooderes,[b] of Mysore has been so ably written by Colonel Wilks, that little more of any importance, can, I believe, be said about them. By the minute accuracy of that gallant officer, and by the details in this work, I am also relieved from the task of pointing out the original boundaries of Mysore and the acquisitions of Hydur Alí. But, as the work of Colonel Wilks may not be in the hands of those who read this, I beg leave to offer, as an outline, that they consisted generally of the Balaghaut[c] and part of the Payeen Ghaut Provinces. The country depending on Mysore may be said to have extended E. and W. from Bednore to Cotapilly, near Rama Sumoodrum, which by the map, is something less than three hundred miles; and N. and S. from Rai Droog, to Urdenall, about two hundred miles. This, of course, does not include many of Hydur's conquests, and is intended as an approximation only.

In translating this work I have not, in general,

[b] ودیر

[c] See the Author's Preface. The Balaghaut extends according to the map, N. and S. from the district of Guntoor to Nundi Droog, or there abouts. The Payeen Ghaut, which signifies the foot of, or below, the Mountains, is apparently the South Eastern coast, N. and S. from Nellore to Namkool, or thereabouts, but I have no means of ascertaining the precise extent of these Provinces.

made any reference to those of Orme,[d] Wilks, and others, on the history of Mysore and the wars of the Karnatic; firstly, because this book is sufficiently large without such an addition; and, secondly, because, although we have seen abundance of what has been said respecting Hydur Alí and his son Tippoo, by English and French writers; still we have never seen what those two individuals, or any of their nation, have said of themselves; if we except a portion, and that I believe a small one, of Tippoo's letters, translated by the late Colonel Kirkpatrick.

For these reasons, I have thought it best to allow Hydur's historian to tell his tale without comment. This account, compared with those above mentioned, will, it may be presumed, furnish a tolerably fair guide for the general historian. There is, however, only a partial resemblance between the English histories of the wars in the Karnatic and this; only a small part of this relating to the English wars, while, on the contrary, the English histories contain very little else.

It may, perhaps, be expected, that I should attempt a short outline of the history of Hydur and his family.

According to the statement of a writer, from

[d] Except with regard to Trichinopoly, it is generally consistent with Orme's account to 1760.

whose work I have translated a character of Hydur, that chief, himself was accustomed to claim a descent from the kings of Bejapoor. There appears however to be no other ground for his claim, than his own assertion; and the Author of this work, if he had had the slightest pretext for assigning so noble an origin to his hero, would not, I think, have failed to give him the full advantage of it.[e] But the fact is, that his origin was very obscure, and the term Náík is rather ambiguous.—It originally, no doubt, signified a Chief or Leader, and was the title of the Hindu Rajas of Madhura[f] and Tinavelli, who were conquered by the Nawaub of Arkaut, in the beginning of the last century. But, it is, also, the designation given to the lowest rank of non-commissioned officers in the Company's army, and the surname assumed by nearly the lowest class of Hindus in the Dukkun.

It is rare, therefore, that a Mussulman should have such an addition to his name, except in the Indian army.[g]

[e] Mysore was tributary to Bejapoor; and thence, most likely, Hydur's claim.

[f] The Hon. M. Elphinstone calls them Nayucs, the Poligars of Bellari, Rai Droog, &c., are also called Náíks. The word is, I believe, derived from the Sanscrit.

[g] The meaning of the word has been changed from its original sense, apparently from a motive similar to that which induces the

The title, however,—for title it is,—was given to Futteh Muhammad, the father of Hydur, by the Raja of Mysore; and the author says, that it is given only to those who are distinguished as statesmen or soldiers.

Another account of Hydur states, his family to have been originally called Náík by the Afghans[h] of Kirpa and Kurnole.

According to this history, the first of Hydur's ascertained ancestors, Wulli Muhammad, came from the neighbourhood of Dehli to Kalberga, during the reign of Muhmud Adil Shah,[i] sultan of Bejapoor; and it states that he was of the tribe of Koreish,[j] the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad.

It appears, that this Wulli Muhammad was one of those persons called by the Arabs Mushaikh, that is, a grave devout mussulman; and that he took up his residence there in the Durgah, or mausoleum, of a celebrated saint, named Bundeh No-

Arabs to call a blind man, Buseer,—i. e. seeing, and a slave Moula, or Master. بصير و مولي من الاضداد

[h] It may be proper to apprise the English Reader that the Afghan race is widely dispersed in Hindostan.

[i] In the list of the Adil Shahi kings, which I have seen, I can find no Muhammad; but if he be, as stated, the son of Ibrahim Adil Shah, he must, I conclude, be the son of the last of that name. There appears, however, to be some mistake here.

[j] Hindu converts to Muhammadanism often call themselves Koreish.

waz,[k] and remained there until the reign of Ali Adil Shah the second, of Bejapoor, when he died.[l]

Hydur was the great grandson of this Wulli Muhammad. He was born in the year 1721, at the town of Kolar, a dependency of the Karnatic Balaghaut province. It is needless for me to enter into the events of his life, as they are detailed in the following pages; but it may be as well to remark, that his introduction to power arose from his engagement, through the medium of his cousin Hydur Sahib, to serve the Raja of Mysore; and that, while he remained in his service at Seringaputtun, by artfully availing himself of the imbecility of the Raja, and the dissensions of his ministers, he gradually dispossessed the one, and imprisoned and put to death the others; and in a very short time became the Nawaub of the Karnatic Balaghaut Chukmuk[m] Jung. The title assumed, (for I doubt its validity conferred by Busálut Jung,) and the territory obtained, by the most unqualified ingratitude and treachery.

His career, which preserved a perfect consistency to the end, was, however, at length, arrested by Sir Eyre Coote; and although Hydur is said to

k بنده نواز

l Apparently about the year 1670.

m The cock, or flint and pan of a musket in Turkish.

have died of a cancer in his back, it is probable that the checks and defeats, which he sustained from that brave and accomplished officer hastened his death, which occurred in 1781.[n]

In reference to Hydur's character, it may be said that his best qualities were his judgment and decision. He was from policy, and perhaps from superstition, more indulgent to the Hindoos than his son Tippoo; but, he was never exceeded by any one in perfidy and cruelty. His bad faith, (the author of this work calls it 'governing or conquering policy,')[o] seems to have pervaded every action of his life. In proof of this see his conduct to the unfortunate Rajas of Mysore, to Nundi Raj,[p] (who whatever he might be otherwise was certainly the best friend Hydur ever had), to the Mahrattas, to his English prisoners, to his benefactor Busálut Jung; to Morar Rao, (or, as he is called by Orme, Morari Row,) and, indeed, to every one who had the misfortune to come in contact with him.

There may, nevertheless, be some apology or

[n] It is worthy of remark, that the death of Sir Eyre Coote, also, is said to have been hastened by the opposition and annoyance which he received from the persons who, unfortunately, at that period presided over the affairs of the East India Company at Madras.

[o] صلاح و تجویز ملک رانی

[p] Nundi Raj is called Regent of Mysore by Orme.

palliation for this in the peculiar circumstances of his rise, and situation, in the character of the people with whom he had to deal,—and in the tenets of his religion, which, I believe, as understood by most classes of Muhammadans,[q] scout all notion of keeping faith with Christians and idolaters, unless when convenient; but, perhaps, more than all, in the laxity of principle common to public men in most countries, and particularly in India, where, as in his case, it was under less controul than in Europe.

I do not, however, think that the charge of avarice, made against him, is well grounded. Such an army, as he commanded, never could have been assembled without a very lavish expenditure; as those who know any thing of the constitution of native armies in India will, I believe, allow.

The secret of Hydur's success against his countrymen, appears to have consisted chiefly in his clear perception and ready adoption of the advantages of European discipline, and in the employment of Europeans, and those who were trained in their mode of warfare. Abundant proof of this will be found throughout his life. The officers in whom

[q] There are I believe passages in the Koran enjoining Muhammadans to keep faith with Christians, but I believe also they consider those passages abrogated by the chapter of the Syfe or sword.

he most depended, and who most effectually served him, although, they are but slightly noticed in this work, were all French or Portuguese; as, for instance, Messieurs Manuel, Lally, Jani, Raymond, &c.

In stating that the author manifests a strong bias towards his master, some times apparently at the expense of truth, it is but fair to remark, that, unlike other Muhammadan authors, he has seldom spoken disparagingly of the British troops, whom, on the contrary, he admits to have been Hydur's most gallant opponents, and whom Hydur himself, according to him, with the frankness of a brave soldier, describes as "lions ranging over the face of the whole earth."

Such expressions as the "stormy, warlike English," "the lions ranging over the face of the earth," and others of the same tenor, plainly indicate the opinion entertained by Hydur of the prowess of the British army in India.[1]

After premising thus much, I am bound to make my public acknowledgements for the flattering assistance and encouragement which I have received from the following distinguished Oriental scholars.

I am under the greatest obligations to the late much lamented Earl of Munster; not only for the

[1] انکریز طوفان انکیز

confidence placed in me, implied in his lordship's offering me the translation of the Neshauni Hyduri, but, from the advantages I have derived from his extensive knowledge of Oriental military customs and literature.

[s] طاب ثراه و جعل الجنّة مثواه

To the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, I beg leave to offer my most thankful acknowledgements, for the kind assistance I have ever obtained from him, and which I trust he will permit me to say, no Oriental scholar of the present day is able to give with more critical judgment and precision.

To Professor Forbes, and Mr. Bland, I am under great obligations for their kindness in lending me copies of this work; since, by the collation of these copies, I have been enabled to ascertain the meaning of many passages, which must otherwise have been left unexplained.

To Mr. Shakespeare, Professor of Hindostani, I am also much obliged, for his kindness in pointing out to me a work, on the life and character of Hydur, in the Hon. East India Company's library. Of this I have availed myself by a partial translation.

To the Rev. J. Reynolds, Secretary to the Orien-

[s] "May the earth be sweet to him, and may his abode be in Paradise."

tal Translation Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, I also beg leave to offer my best thanks, for his uniformly kind suggestions and advice.

In presenting this translation of the life of Hydur Alí to the public, I beg leave to observe, that no one can be more sensible of its defects than I am. In justice to myself, however, I think I may state with some confidence that it is translated as closely as the difference which exists between the two languages will admit, unless the risk be incurred of rendering it uncouth to an English reader by making it a verbal translation.

In conclusion I beg leave to subjoin that a literary friend, Mr. Davenport, having obligingly versified part of the English translation of the Persian poetry in this book, I have taken the liberty to place his verses at the bottom of the page, and write this as an acknowledgement of his kindness and ability.

بسم الله الرّحمن الرحيم

The title page of the volume containing the various accounts of the Universe; and the Book of Books[a] describing the condition[b] of all the different Tribes or Nations[c] of the world; are, the praise of the King of all Kingdoms; the Standard of whose might and Majesty is planted on the field of his works, and under the shadow of whose aid and protection all the contending armies on the face of the earth are enrolled.

The Shuhneh,[d] Magistrate or Provost Martial, who executes his universal orders, regulates with the scourge of wisdom and justice, in eternal moderation and proportion, the opposite natures or qualities of the various kinds of sentient beings;[e] The Herald of his decrees, by the proclamation

[a] جامع مجموع [b] اوضاع [c] افراد

[d] شحنه A kind of Provost Martial in Camps, &c.—meaning the Angels, perhaps, see the Furhungi Jehangiri.

[e] هزده هزارعالم

to the four quarters of the world, that, to "him belongs Sovereignty, the one God! the all powerful God!"[f]—draws forth or compels from the tongue of every one high and low the acknowledgement of belief in his unity; and the generous call or invitation to his plenteous table, adorns with the ornament of faith the ear of every living creature.—*Verses* from the Gulistan—"So wide has he spread his bounteous feast—That the Simorgh[g] eats his share in the Mountain of Kaf."[h]

And the Preface to the Book of the Creation, and the title of the volume of Wisdom and Knowledge, are the praises of that Commander (Muhammad), whose authority, [the words]—"we do not send thee except from compassion or mercy to mankind,"[i] became to the sinners of the earth, the glad tidings of salvation; and the sword of whose claim, and mission, like the life destroying lightening came and burned up the harvest of the pride

لمن الملک و احد القہار [f]

[g] Phenix.

[h] قاف Emerald mountains which, the Muhammadans say, surround the earth.

God spreads his bounteous feast so wide, that, where
Kaf rears his lofty peaks the Simorgh eats his share.

[i] Koran. وما ارسلناک الا رحمة للعالمين

and insolence of idolators and infidels. May the blessings of God ever remain on him, his family, friends and dependents.

But, from the conquerors in the realms of literature,[j] and from the presidents or leaders of the Councils of the learned, it will not be hidden, that when the Almighty in any time or period desires that the individuals of his Creation, (that is, his Servants), shall repose on the couch[k] of ease and safety ; he qualifies and makes acceptable to himself, a fortunate individual, a man of strong mind, and places the symbol of obedience[l] to him on the shoulders of the age, and the nations of the earth far and near are maintained in the supply of their wants and the accomplishment of their desires by the impression and influence of his name and power.

This proposition is established, in the cases of Shums ul Moolk, Ameer ud Dowla, Nawaub Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr, Hydur Jung,—and Oomdut ool Moolk, Mubaruk ud Dowla, Tippoo Sooltaun, Alí Khan Bahadúr, Huzubbur Jung;[m]

j معني　　k مهد

l غاشيه A saddle cloth.

m شمس الملک امیر الدّوله نواب حیدر علي خان بهادُر حیدر جنگ and عمدة المُلک مبارک الدّوله تپو سلطان علي خان بهادُر هزبّر جنگ

years in a search for information, respecting the forefathers of this illustrious family, which was with great difficulty obtained, he reduced it to writing, and formed it into a book; and, the detail of the months and years being added, he has named his work, the Neshauni Hyduri,[s] and has left it as a memorial inscribed on the page of time. And he has laboured with such care and caution, that he is certain nothing, but fact and truth, has found an entrance into his work; and some circumstances, to which the author himself was an eye-witness, are stated without hesitation or the shadow of a doubt; simply as they occurred—in order, also, to bind together the leaves of this newly written book, he has turned over the pages of months and years, and the leaves of night and day; and he has, moreover, adorned the garden of its columns and chapters with chosen words teeming with meaning, and watered and refreshed it with the streams of perspicuity and truth.[t]

Although this book, agreeably to the saying of

[s] نشان حيدري These words may be translated the flag or standard of Hydur; a memorial or remembrance of Hydur; or the fortunes of Hydur. The second is apparently the meaning intended by the author.

[t] Some verses are omitted here in which the Author, after speaking highly of his work, says that, although he did not write for hire, he trusts, that the sons of Tippoo, being intelligent and learned men, will not fail to reward him for his labour.

the learned, that "every beginning has an ending," is finished; yet, according to the opinion of the author, it is still incomplete: but when men of exalted understanding, candid[u] linguists, learned historians, wise and liberal encouragers of learning shall look over his pages with the eyes of scrutiny and see the painful task he has made agreeable to himself; and that he has not foolishly thrown away his precious time, but has clothed the bride of fugitive recollections with the marriage garment of junction[v] and union, and seated her on the nuptial[w] throne of the coloured pages of his book; and lastly shall review his work with the eyes of truth and approbation, it will then (and then only), by their approval and sanction be completed. What he hopes from the truly learned, the generous concealers of errors, is, that, if they at any time should peruse this book, they will not dwell on the want of arrangement, or of elegance, in the language and sentences, but, by the favour of correction, lay an obligation on him, which he is ever ready to acknowledge.[x]

[u] پاک طینت   [v] اجتماع   [w] جلوه گر

[x] Verses omitted being merely a versification of the above.

CHAPTER I.

A concise account of the Ancestors of Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr.

In the reign of Mahmúd Adil Shah, King of Bijapoor, who was the son[a] of Ibrahim Adil Shah, surnamed Juggut Gooru,[b] and celebrated for his profound knowledge of music,—a certain Shaikh, Wulí Muhammad, of the tribe of Kureish, a man devoted to religion,[c] compelled by accidental circumstances arrived from the neighbourhood of Delhi at the noble[d] city of Kalberga. He took up his abode there; and, as he was a man of mild temper and strictly pious, the servants[e] of the Durgah, or Tomb of Huzrut Bundah Nawáz,[f] received him with great respect, and made him a small monthly allowance to provide for his subsistence.

Having with him a grown up son, whose name was Shaikh Muhammad Alí, who was a learned

[a] خلف صدق [b] The saint or Spiritual guide of the world.
[c] متوكل [d] شريف [e] مجاوران the sweepers of a musjid.
[f] حضرت بنده نواز

young man, and also endowed with considerable talent, the Shaikh determined to seek a wife for him here. After much search and difficulty, a suitable bride was demanded for him, from the house of one of the servants of the Durgah, and they were shortly after married.

At this place they remained, in ease and comfort, till the reign of Alí Adilshah the II., when the Shaikh having obeyed the summons of his maker Alí Sáhib left Kalberga with his wife, and proceeded to Bijapoor. There he took up his residence in Mushaikhpoora, in the house of his wife's brethren, who were seven in number, between whom and their sister there existed a sincere and hearty affection; they were all of them engaged in the service of the Ameer of the Dukkun, Shaikh Minhaj, at a liberal rate of pay, and all lived together. The whole of the seven brothers received their sister and her husband with the greatest warmth and affection.

It happened, a short time after, that the army of Hindustan advanced,[g] with a view to the conquest of Bejapoor; and the Ameers of the Dukkun, that is, the Shaikh above-mentioned, and Afzul Khan, Rustum Khan, and Surmust Khan, with a large force, were therefore dispatched to oppose the army

[g] ایلغار

of Hindustan; and, in the vicinity of Kalberga they met and fought a fierce battle. The Ameer of the Huráwul,[h] or advanced guard, (of the Dukkunees), who was Shaikh Minhaj, charged his enemies with the greatest bravery, and defeated them; but, after fighting gallantly, not less than seven hundred brave fellows of his party or troop were slain by the arrow or musket; and it was so ordained that, one after another, the seven brothers having arrayed their bodies in the glorious jewels of sword-wounds, and opened to their enemies the doors of grief and dismay in this hired mansion, the world, at once sped on their way to view and enjoy the eight gardens of Paradise.

When this painful intelligence reached their beloved sister, she was so overwhelmed with grief at the loss of her dear brothers, that, giving up for them the peace of her heart, and the strength of her mind, she took to her bed and, refusing all sustenance, determined to die; thus, inconsolable and incessantly weeping and lamenting the loss of her brethren, and, in her sorrow, letting fall the reins of hope and trust from her hands, her affections were alienated from friend and stranger, and she inscribed the elegy of her brethren on her broken heart.

[h] هراول

When Alí Sáhib saw his wife in this miserable condition, it appeared to him that his remaining where he was, must continually open afresh the wounds grief had inflicted on his mourning partner. He, therefore, with his wife, property and relations, left Bijapoor, and turned his steps towards the Karnatic Balaghaut, and there took up his abode in the town of Kolar.

The Chief of this place was Shah Muhammad Dukkuni, who was Governor on the part of Kasim Khan, the Souba of Sura. Having had some previous acquaintance with Shaikh Alí, he received him with great respect, assigned him a house for his residence and treated him with every attention, insomuch that, in order that he might remain there in peace and comfort, and trusting to his honour, he allowed him the charge of all his dependents and workmen. But, besides this occupation, Shaikh Alí afterwards cultivated the soil, and rented fields and gardens.

Shaikh Alí had four sons; 1st. Shaikh Muhammad Ilias; 2nd. Shaikh Muhammad; 3rd. Shaikh Muhammad Imám, and 4th, Futteh Muhammad. When these four sons had grown up to manhood, they determined to seek a respectable service, and gain a worthy rank and name in the world, and they, therefore, sought permission of their father to

depart, Shaikh Alí, however, by advice and instruction endeavoured to divert them from their purpose, saying to them, " Our forefathers were pious and holy men, and, though they were competent to distinguish themselves in the world, they nevertheless strove to separate themselves from its ties and connexions;—for this reason, that the desire of the world involves the relinquishment of spiritual comfort and a distaste for eternal happiness;—and, therefore, it is incumbent in you to follow in their steps, and put no faith in the allurements of this uncertain state of existence—for, what fate has from eternity assigned for your subsistence arrives without labour or search—(*verses*)—' If thou couldst sew heaven and earth together—thou couldst not obtain from them more than thy daily subsistence'[i]—moreover, perfect minded independent men are never grieved at the narrowness of their worldly circumstances, and, although they may have earthly ties, they pride themselves on disengaging[k] themselves from them, and resigning such connexions." In short, while Shaikh Alí lived he would not allow his children to leave him, but still supported them. At length, in the year 1109, he bid adieu to this life, in the town of Kolar and proceeded to Paradise. Shaikh Ilias his eldest son was se-

[i] " گرزمین را باسمان دوزي " " ندهندت زياده از روزي "

[k] قطع

lected to succeed him, he, also, used his best efforts to console his brethren, and to provide for them, and the wants of his family, relations and connexions.

About this time, Shah Muhammad, the Chief of Kolar, resigned his being into the hands of the creator of life, and another Chief was appointed, and took his charge. Apparently from this cause, Futteh Muhammad, divesting himself of all regard for his relations, departed, without the permission of his elder brother, to the Karnatic Payanghaut, and resided for a short time in the Talooka of Turnamul, a very pleasant part of that country; but he afterwards changed his abode to the Souba of Arkat, where, through the interest of Ibrahim Khan Killadár, he was introduced to the Nawaub Saudut Ullah Khan, the Sáhib Souba, and appointed to the command of two hundred foot and fifty horse, in the service of the said Nawaub, and was styled a Jemadár.

Muhammad Ilias, being offended at the conduct of his brother, and thinking it derogated from his own respectability and character, also left Kolar alone, under pretence that he was going to visit Syud Búrhan-ud-dín, a Peerzadeh at Tanjore, leaving his wife, with his son, named Hydur Sáhib, who was about fourteen years old, at home with his brethren.

Muhammad Ilias dying at Tanjore, in the year 1115 H., Futteh Muhammad who resided at Arkat, after sometime sent for Búrhan-ud-dín, the Peer Zadeh before mentioned, from Tanjore, and married his daughter, who was the sister of Ibrahim Sáhib. The bride's niece, who was grown up to womanhood, he gave to his brother Imám Sáhib, and their families resided together.

Sometime after this, Hydur Sáhib the son of Muhammad Ilias, at the invitation of the ministers of the Polygar of Mysore,[l] proceeded to that country, and was entertained by them in their service, with a body of a hundred[m] horse and two hundred foot; and he also received from them the honourable title of Náík, a term which, in the Hindu dialect, signifies an officer or commander of foot soldiers.

Futteh Muhammad, however, still remained at Arkat, much respected; and, towards the end of the Nawaub's government, he was allowed by the Soubadár to entertain six hundred foot, five hundred horse, and fifty juzail-burdar (rocket-men)[n] attached to his command; and he acquired fresh reputation in every service in which he was employed, particularly in the fight at Jinjee, a town

[l] A term not generally used for the Chiefs of Mysore.

[m] The numbers are taken from Mr. Marriott's copy of this work.

[n] جزل بردار among other significations means a thick stick, rockets or rifles.

depending on the Karnatic Payan Ghaut, where a fierce battle was fought, between the Nawaub and Raja Teep, or Teeb, Singh. In this battle the Raja with only fourteen horse crossed the river of Sukrateerut, (on this side of Futteh Peeth), the river being swollen with the rains, and attacked the army of the Nawaub, consisting of four or five thousand horse and thirteen thousand foot; and stretching forth the arm of manhood, threw the whole into confusion, and stamped his name indelibly on the page of time by his exceeding bravery, and cutting down his enemies as he advanced, the Raja arrived with only two horsemen at the Nawaub's elephant, when, at this critical moment, Futteh Muhammad, with his infantry, and juzail burdaran, formed a circle round the elephant, and at one discharge stretched the Raja lifeless on the field. In reward for his promptitude on this occasion, he was immediately honored with the present of an elephant, a standard, and a pair of nagaras or kettle drums.

As after the death of the Nawaub, his nephew, Dost Alí Khan, became Soubadár of Arkat, and quarrels had arisen among his relations, and as the inexperience of Sufdur Alí Khan (his son) had thrown the state into disorder, Futteh Muhammad, fearing he might sustain loss of character and respectability, quitted of his own accord the service

of the Nawaub, and retired with his wife and family to the Balaghaut. Leaving his women at Kolar, he proceeded to Mysore, where he remained some time with his nephew, who had established himself well there by his amiable disposition[o] and good qualities. About this time, also, the Polygar of Mysore sent for him, gave him the title of Náík, and entertained him in his service, on the same terms with Hydur Sáhib Náík. It may be proper to remark here, that the title of Náík is a very respectable one among the Hindoos; and any one who is distinguished by personal bravery and prudence in the management of state affairs, has this title conferred on him by the chief among them.

After awhile, however, the affairs of the Raja's territory of Mysore, from the quarrels of the chiefs of that country, fell into great confusion, and Sáhib Shujeea[p] or Futteh Muhammad therefore left the Raja's service, and lived privately for sometime.

About this period, that is 1131 H., he had a son named Shahbaz Sáhib, and, two years after, another, who was named Wulí Muhammad; but the latter died when he was only two years old.

But, as men of courage and conduct cannot pass

[o] سليقه

[p] From this place Futteh Muhammad is called Sáhib Shujeea, which signifies the brave officer.

their lives without occupation, or seeking to distinguish themselves; and, as they cannot remain like foxes, lurking in the holes and corners of obscurity, but, on the contrary, like the lion-hearted men who, under the guise of acquiring personal renown, are really aiming to provide for the subsistence of many of God's creatures who cannot provide for themselves; even so Futteh Muhammad left Mysore, to seek service, and proceeded to the chief of the Souba Sura, that is, to Nawaub Durgah Kuli Khan,[q] where he obtained a very high station as commander of four hundred foot and a hundred horse; he was likewise appointed to the command of the fort of Great Balapoor. He, therefore, sent for his family from Kolar to that place, and remained there for sometime.

In the year 1134 H., A. D. 1721, while he dwelt there, a son of auspicious presage and exalted good fortune was born to him; who from the glory of his person shed splendour on the lap of the nurse of time. The Sun being in the sign Aries[r] when he was born, he was named Hydur Alí Khan.

An historian[s] who has sought for historical documents, states that, after the birth of this child, certain astrologers cast his nativity, and disclosed that, although this boy would certainly ar-

[q] درگاه قلي خان [r] حمل [s] راوي

rive at the dignity of the crown and throne, and rise to be the sovereign of the two Karnatics; yet, that he would, in a short time, suffer the pain and grief of becoming an orphan; that is, his father would be taken from him. On hearing this prediction, his relations, with one accord, determined that the child should be fed with the milk of death, and laid to sleep in the cradle of eternity.

His father, however, on being informed of this intention, said, "If the evil omen attendant on his birth rests on me, well and good, be it so; but I will not allow him to be put to death; for good and bad proceed alike from God's decrees." In consequence of this, the mother and relations of this light of the eyes of prosperity and good fortune spared no pains in his nurture and preservation.

After the dismission of Durgah Kuli Khan, and during the government of A'bid Khan, governor of Sura, the Poligars of Mysore, Bidnore, and others, formed a confederacy, and assembled a force to take the fort of Balapoor, and dispatched a message, through the medium of Hydur Náík Sáhib, demanding its surrender. Futteh Muhammad, however, was not deceived by their interested professions; but followed the paths of fidelity, and the usages of the brave. He, therefore, at once rejected their demand, and prepared to defend his charge;

and having, with his own dependants alone, gallantly made a sortie, he defeated them in a night attack, and thereby gained a high reputation among his companions and contemporaries.

The Poligars, defeated, dispersed, and hopeless of success, sought their places of residence, and Futteh Muhammad forwarded to the Soubadár A'bid Khan, the plunder which he had taken from them. A'bid Khan complimented the prudent Futteh Muhammad highly on his valour, and sent for him to the capital of the Souba, where he was honored with a munsub of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, with the present of an elephant, a standard, and a pair of kettle drums; and he was, moreover, appointed to superintend the defence and regulation of the Souba. After this in all public affairs in which he was employed, the prudent Futteh Muhammad always accomplished his task in the best possible manner.

When Durgah Kuli Khan was a second time appointed to the Soubadari of Sura, he, also, relying on Futteh Mahummud's abilities and courage, continued to employ him in the management and regulation[t] of all matters relating to the government of the Souba. After Kuli Khan was slain, the able Futteh Muhammad attached himself to Abdur-

[t] رتق و فتق

rasúl Khan, his son, and they together made such arrangements in the Souba, and with the Tributary Poligars, that, notwithstanding the absence of the chief authority, which is generally the cause of sedition and treachery in worldly matters, no rebellion, or disturbance in the Government ever occurred, and until the arrival of the governor of the Souba, Táhir Muhammad Khan, (who, for nine months after his appointment, was delayed to collect the necessary number of Sebundi or local troops) Abdurrasúl, with the aid and advice of Futteh Muhammad, kept the whole in perfect order. When the Nawaub, Táhir Muhammad, arrived in the Souba with his troops, Abdurrasúl Khan, not having well settled his affairs, retired to his father's Jageer, the same Purgunna of Balapoor the Greater; and from thence proceeded without delay to Hyderabad, leaving in the Souba Muhammad Khan Punni,[u] as Governor of the chief fort or town[x] of the Souba, with the troops belonging to Futteh Muhammad,—and with orders to oppose the new Souba by force of arms.

The governor or Killadár and Futteh Muhammad, with other Náiks, therefore, under pretence that their pay was due for the nine months during which

[u] The name of a well known tribe of Afghans.

[x] دارالامارت

they had done duty, and he had been absent, argued and insisted that, until they were paid, they would not allow him to enter the walls of the capital of the Souba, and they secretly prepared to defend themselves.

When the Nawaub became acquainted with these circumstances, he despatched a message to them, that he would pay the monthly allowances of the Huzariaun,[y] the garrisons of the forts, the sebundi, (a kind of militia), and the troops of the Souba, from the time of his entrance into, and taking possession of, the same; but that they must claim all their arrears from the last Soubadár. The garrison, however, would not listen to this proposition, and they consequently strengthened the gates of the city and fort, and prepared to defend themselves.

The Nawaub, meanwhile, encamped with his troops on the western side of the capital of the Souba, near an Eed Gah,[z] and one day made a determined attack on the fortifications, to gain an entrance into the fort.

The defenders of this part of the town, being however the soldiery of Futteh Muhammad, they

[y] The term Huzariaun, which may mean the Lord of a thousand villages, is applied, according to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, to the Ser Desmukhs of the Dekkan.

[z] A musjid, or place of prayer, where the festivals of the Mussulmans are celebrated.

successfully opposed his attack and gained great reputation.

After this repulse, the Nawaub marched and encamped on the road of Hallun Hulli, and surrounded both the town and fort. A continual discharge of arrows and musketry was kept up from the fort, and in every attack the garrison had the advantage; and, therefore, the Nawaub again moved ground to the neighbourhood of Kummin Hulli, which is distant, south west[a] from the fort, about three miles.

The Killadár now, inspired by folly and rashness, taking the troops of Futteh Muhammad with his own, left the town, to make a night attack on the Nawaub; and, falling in first with the picquets of the Nawaub's force, asssaulted them, and a fierce combat ensued between the parties. Being deficient in experience and unacquainted with war, the Killadár did not, however, pay any attention to the troops of the enemy, who were in ambush, or concealed on his flanks, but pressed on straight to the tent of the Nawaub, having Futteh Muhammad, and a body of horse and foot, surrounding his elephant. The troops of the Nawaub, however, soon raised the cry of Gao! Gao![b] and closed on the Killadár and Muhammad Khan on

[a] اگني رويه

[b] کاؤ کاؤ alluding to the ancient battle cry of the Persians apparently.

every side, and, after a hard fought conflict, the Killadár lost his head, and the brave Futteh Muhammad was also slain.

This event took place in the year 1137, Hijri, at which time the wives and children of Futteh Muhammad were residing in the Pergunna of Balapoor; and when the intelligence reached Abbás Kuli Khan, the son of Durgah Kuli Khan, who was the chief of Balapoor, the tyrannical and hard-hearted man immediately began without cause to persecute and oppress the afflicted and soul-stricken family of Futteh Muhammad, and plundered them of all their property, even to the furniture of the house, clothes, utensils, and the trinkets and jewels of the women. In addition to this tyrannical proceeding, the two brothers, (that is the sons of the slain Futteh Muhammad, the eldest of whom was Shahbaz Sáhib, about eight years old, and Hydur Alí Sáhib, three or four years old,) were also seized and carried into the fort, and confined there in a nagara, or kettle drum, the head or parchment of which being stretched on the drum, it was beaten, in order that, by the pain and distress of these poor orphans, he might extort more money from their families, and by this act of cruelty Abbás Kuli made himself known to the world as a tyrant and oppressor.

At length, the widow of the slain Futteh Muhammad dispatched a confidential person, with an account of the oppressive conduct of the chief of Balapoor, and the cruel confinement of her poor infants, to Hydur Sáhib the elder, the nephew of her husband, who was residing at Seringaputtun. On hearing of the death of his uncle, and the miserable condition of his children, Hydur Sáhib was so afflicted that he could neither eat nor sleep, and immediately complained to the Poligar[c] of Mysore, who wrote a letter to the Chief of Sura, requiring the release of the women and children of the slain Futteh Muhammad ; and the Nawaub of Sura, therefore, after reproving the tyrant, and threatening him with punishment, himself procured their release.

It is not, however, to be concealed here, that another author[d] has given a different account of these occurrences. He says that, when the Nawaub Durgah Kuli Khan was killed, his son Abdurrasúl Khan, without the knowledge of the Nizám's government, and wishing to obtain the government of the Souba, himself, borrowed three or four lakhs[e] of rupees, from a Sahookar, or Banker, named Muhammad Khan Sulimán Zai,

[c] Another copy says, addressed a petition.

[d] راوي

[e] 400,000.

an inhabitant of Arkat, and collected troops for the defence of the Souba. Futteh Muhammad Sáhib also borrowed eighteen thousand rupees from the same person, to pay his company of soldiers, which amount he converted to his own use. When, however, Abdurrasúl Khan heard of the arrival of Nawaub Táhir Khan, the Soubadár, he prepared to go to Balapoor, but the banker before mentioned, at that time opposed his departure, on account of the money owing to him, and he therefore gave strict charge to the Commandant of the fort, and officers of the army and garrison, to secure by all means in their power the payment of the money from the Nawaub; after which he departed. When, therefore, the Nawaub arrived, the Huzariaun or officers of the Souba demanded their pay, and the money advanced by the banker, and refused to allow him to enter the capital of the Souba until the money was paid. The banker also assembled his Afghans, and prepared for defence. At length, after much strife and contention, the Killadár, or officer commanding the fort, and Futteh Muhammad, threw away their lives, and the Nawaub, advancing, at one gallant attack, entered the town. Nevertheless, the officers, the Mewatties,[f] and the

[f] The Mewatties, a note says, are a people from the Eastern part of India, much employed, because of their fidelity and bravery.

banker abovementioned, seized the castle; and, making it secure, held out for a month, and did not give it up till they were paid.

When these circumstances were reported to the Huzúr, Nawaub Nizám-ul-Moolk, Asof Jah, he forwarded the pay of the soldiers, and the money of the banker, from his own treasury; and by that means quieted the disturbances in the Souba. After the receipt of the money, therefore, the officers surrendered the keys of the fort to the Nawaub; and the banker, having laden his camels, and elephants with his treasure, moved off on his journey towards Arkat. When, however, he arrived at the Purguna of Balapoor, he found the condition of the sons of Futteh Muhammad, as has been before described, and, having seen and being moved with compassion for them, he obtained the release of the women and children; but he dispatched the former and their dependents only to Seringaputtun, and kept the two brothers, as a security for the money which he had advanced their father.

In short, when the banker had arrived at Arkat, and the women at Seringaputtun, the pillage and cruel treatment of his cousins reached the ears of Hydur Sáhib the elder in detail; and he and the widows of Futteh Muhammad wept and bewailed their double loss and calamity.

Hydur, nevertheless, did his utmost to console the mourners, and immediately dispatched eighteen thousand rupees to Arkat to obtain the release of his oppressed cousins, whom he sent for and kept to live with him ; on their being released they joined him in the state to which they had been reduced by oppression, with only a single suit of clothes.

Hydur the elder brought up these children with more tenderness and care than his own, and provided for them in a very liberal manner. He likewise taught them the use [g] of arms, and horsemanship, the lance or spear exercise and all the accomplishments of a soldier.

When the two brothers had arrived at years of discretion, Shahbaz Sáhib, who had married a lady of his own family, or tribe, being a young man of independent spirit, and not wishing to live a life of idleness, and throw the weight of his support on his cousin, took a forced leave of him and his mother, and, accompanied by his brother, departed to the Payanghaut, and visited, and took service with Abdul Wahab Khan, the younger brother of Muhammad Alí Khan, Wala Jah, who, during the government of his father, held the Jageer of Chitore. He was appointed by him to the command of a body of a thousand foot and two hundred horse,

[g] كسب

and in his service he remained sometime; his younger brother, that is, Hydur Alí, being appointed to the command of the horse—both brothers living happily together in the greatest harmony and friendship.

It may be proper to observe here, that, during the government of Nawaub Dilawár Khan, Soubadár or governor of Sura, the Poligars of the Balaghaut, having softened the Soubadár by bribery, began to shew their spirit by attacking each other; so that, latterly, the Poligar of Mysore, having collected seven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, conquered or reduced all the Poligars to the eastward of Mysore—that is, the Chiefs of Bangalore Mashti, Sutigal, Korikal, Makri, and Ootridroog, &c.; and gradually took possession of the whole of the country, at length even to the boundary of the Souba of Sura, to which frontier his troops had advanced. He also took the Hill Fort of Mudgiri, which belonged to the Poligar of Mirgi, and placed in garrison there Alí Sáhib Náík, the son of Hydur Sáhib the elder, with three hundred foot and seventy horse, an elephant and nagara, to guard the Hill Fort, and protect the country.

About this time, Hydur Sáhib the elder, sent for his cousins from Chitore, it being a period of prosperity with his family; and, by chance it hap-

pened that, about this period, Shahbaz Sáhib receiving some slight affront from Abdul Wahab Khan, and, being offended, with difficulty obtained his discharge from his service, and having no employ, he, at the invitation of his relative, (Hydur the elder), joined him with his brother, their family, followers, and property.

Seeing the style and respectability of the two fortunate brothers, Hydur Sáhib was highly pleased with them, and presented them to Nundi Raj, the chief minister of Mysore, and obtained service for them, with three hundred foot and fifty horse.—As after this, during the attack on Dewun Hulli, depending on Chuk Balapoor,[h] in which fort[i] Hydur Sáhib the elder had a detachment, he having besieged the fort, and reduced it to extremity, was accidentally wounded in one of the assaults, and afterwards died, the minister before mentioned, (Nundi Raj,) delivered over to Shahbaz Sáhib the company which Hydur the elder had commanded, and also gave him the charge of the fort and dependencies, which had been newly conquered; he then returned to Seringaputtun. Shahbaz dispatched his horse, under the command of his brother Hydur Alí, with the minister's troops; and, sending for his family from Kolar, he remained

[h] Balapoor the less.

[i] This I think is a mistake.

at Balapoor. As, about this time, his wife had died after giving birth to a daughter, he demanded in marriage, and married, a young lady of his tribe, and when his daughter,[k] born under the star of good fortune, had arrived at a proper age, he affianced her to Lala Mean. His new wife brought him two daughters, and one son, whom he named Kádir Sáhib.

At this period, Hydur Alí had conducted himself with such prudence and discretion in Seringaputtun, that all the Chiefs of the Government, the Raja himself, but chiefly his minister Nundi Raj, (who was the father-in-law of Jug Kishen Raj Ooderi, the Raja of that period,) were so fascinated by the goodness of his disposition and his bravery, that they distinguished him above all his compeers, the Jamadárs, Náíkwars, and other officers of older standing; and the latter (Nundi Raj) favored and desired his promotion, as he considered him the leader of his troops, or the bravest man in the army. Hydur having also been permitted to farm the Jumabundi, or land revenue,[l] for the payment of his horse and regular foot, was now dignified with the title of Hydur Alí Khan; and neither in business nor pleasure did Nundi Raj ever separate himself from him.

[k] The Mussulmans never mention the names of their daughters or wives in public.

[l] Of some Purgunna, perhaps.

When Hydur Alí Khan had arrived at the age of nineteen or twenty years, Shahbaz Sáhib, his elder brother who with his family resided at Dewun Hulli, determined to seek a wife for his brother; and, after much search, the family of a certain Syud Shahbaz, commonly called Shah Mean Sáhib, was selected, he being a Peer Zadeh[m] of the Souba Sura, who had six children, viz. three sons and three daughters, the eldest son being Syud Kumal, otherwise called Kumtoo Sáhib, the second Syud Mukhdoom, and the third Syud Ismáíl.

This man was sent for with his family to Seringaputtun, and his eldest daughter was married to Hydur Alí in Seringaputtun, after the manner of the Dukkanees. This young lady had a daughter; but, unfortunately, while she was in child-bed, either from neglect of regimen or some other cause, she was seized with the dropsy, which took away the use of the lower part of her body,[n] and he was on the point of marrying again, when Nundi Raj found it necessary to proceed with his whole force, to reduce[o] the country of the Payan Ghaut, which is south of Mysore, and consists of Calicut, Koimbatore, Dindigul and Palighat, &c., some of the Naimars of which had rebelled, and deserted their villages, after laying waste the country.

[m] Is a religious man.

[n] منفذ تناسل مسدود گردیده [o] بندوبست

He, therefore, marched, with the whole of his troops, and a year and a half were expended in reducing the country to order, and punishing the disaffected Naimars. The bravery of Hydur Alí Khan in this service was so conspicuous, that it became the theme of praise on the tongues of all ranks of people; and in reward for his labours and services he had an elephant, a flag, nagaras, or kettle drums, and the palankin of the Dulwai or Minister of State, presented to him, and he was honoured with permission to enlist horse and regular foot, that is musketeers; he accordingly enlisted about four thousand foot, to be disciplined after the European mode; he likewise enlisted fifteen hundred horse separately: and these he termed his own troops.

When, therefore, Hydur returned with so much credit from his successful expedition, his wife, of her own free will, gave him permission to take another wife.

In this delicate matter, the Khan acted according to the advice of his elder brother, Shahbaz Sáhib, and sent for Meer Alí Ruza Khan, the late Killadár of Kurm Goonda, who, being then unengaged in any service, was residing with his family in the Barh Mahl. He supplied him with the necessary expenses and carriage for the journey; and, when

Meer Alí arrived, took his sister-in-law to wife. He, however, still considered his first wife as holding the principal sway in the house,[p] continued all her privileges and honours, and moreover regarded her as the ornament of his family, and placed all his family and household under her authority. The second sister of his first wife he gave in marriage to a learned man, named Syud Búrhán, and her third sister not being engaged, he, about this time, gave her to Meer Alí Ruza Khan, and the marriage was celebrated with the usual ceremonies. All his brothers and connexions remained with him constantly, he giving to the whole of them some kind of service or employment.

For three or four years after this marriage the Khan (Hydur) had no children. At length, however, by the mediation of the transcendant merits[q] of Tippoo Mustan Oulia, (may God enlighten his tomb and those of his brethren,—and whose miracles are celebrated both in Hind and in the Dukkun,) he obtained his wish, and in the hope of obtaining children, having taken refuge in the favour of the Almighty, and having offered up prayers and vows for the accomplishment of his desires, when the time arrived for the acceptation of his petition and the increase of his greatness[r] and

[p] بانوي خانه [q] روح پر فتوح [r] منزلت حشمت

power, the arrow of his prayer reached the butt of accordance, and the tree of his hope blossomed and fructified.—

Tippoo Mustan was the elder brother of Humeed Sáhib, who lies in the centre of the city of Gunjee or Kunjun Nuggur, and who himself sleeps in the market or Chowk of Arkat. The third brother also of that saint is buried at Hunoor, Talooka Rai Droog.[s]

[s] The account of these saints in the original is involved in parentheses.

CHAPTER II.

The birth of Tippoo Sultan, the Martyr, (may God's mercy rest upon him); with other details. A. Hejri 1163. Nov. 29, 1749.

PRAISES and gratitude to God! who, after so much desire and anxiety, caused the rose tree to produce the bud of hope, who caused Hydur Alí's house and fortunes to be illumined by the lamp of prosperity, also the night of his desire to be succeeded by the morning of its fulfilment; that is to say, the rising of the bright star of the constellation of power and dignity, in the village of Dewun Hulli, on the morning of Saturday, the 20th of Zi, Huj. year 1163, H.[t] shedding its light on the field of his father's wishes for progeny, dispelling the dark gloom obscuring his hopes and rejoicing the heart of both friend and stranger. The brave Khan on the bestowal of this great gift, rubbed his forehead on the earth of acknowledgement, and offered up the thanksgiving and praise due to the Creator of all life; and for forty days likewise he kept open his house for feasting and enjoyment, and opening wide the doors of his treasury, made all his servants and friends rich with his gifts.[u]

[t] A.D. 1749, Novr. 19. [u] Verses from Nezzami omitted.

The rose buds of his friends' hearts expanded and blossomed in this breeze of pleasure; day by day, the Nagaras of rank and fortune were beaten at his gates, and the blessings accompanying the propitious steps of that fortunate child increased in number; for even from the day of his birth, riches and power, it may be said, came in person to meet and do him honor; and, as his advent was owing to the secret aspirations and intercession of the Saint Tippoo Mustan, he was named Tippo Sultan, and no care was omitted in his nurture and preservation.

About the end of this year, Nawaub Nizám ul Moolk Násir Jung, marched to the Karnatic Payan Ghaut, to revenge the death of Unwar uddin Khan Gopa Mooe, Soubadár of Arkat, who, in the year 1162, H.[x] was assassinated, without cause, on the plain of Amboor Gurh, by the treacherous hand of Hidáyut Mihí-ud-dín Khan, the sister's son of the Nawaub abovementioned, at the instigation of Hussain Dost Khan, otherwise called Chunda Sáhib Nayut. The said Nayut, likewise, with the aid of the French of Pondicherry, having seized upon the whole Souba of Arkat, and taking on himself the correction of its rebellious subjects, and the regulation of its affairs.

All the Poligars of the Karnatic Balaghaut, therefore, and also Dilawár Khan, the Soubadár of the

[x] 1748-9.

Souba Sura, repaired with their followers, arms, and ammunition to the presence. Among the number was also Girajwuri Nundi Raj,[y] on the part of the Mysore chief, accompanied by a large force, and by Hydur Alí Khan; and they joined the Nizám, and fought on his side, till, in the year 1164, the Nawaub was slain on the field of Ginjee, owing to the disaffection and treachery of the Afghans of Kirpa Kirnole. Astonished and dismayed at this terrible event, the subsidiary Poligars, without any communication with each other, retired to their respective homes.

Hydur Alí Khan, however, with his troops and artillery, remained on the field with the scattered troops of the murdered Nizám, until the midday after his assassination; but, on being fully acquainted with the circumstances, he took the road to the Balaghaut, and, on his route, fell in with three or four camels, laden with treasure of the government, which the rebels had seized, and were taking away. After punishing the robbers, Hydur Alí took possession of this treasure, which he added to his own and then returned to Seringaputtun.

[y] Girachoru or Girachoori. The Dulwai is a minister for civil affairs and the Purdhan who is otherwise called Bukshi is the commander of the forces.—Nundi Raj is called the Regent of Mysore by Orme.

CHAPTER III.

The encreasing prosperity of Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr, with other occurences of the year 1165 H., A. D. 1751.

During the reign of Jug Kishen Raj Ooderi, Raja of Mysore; and the ministry of his agent, Girachoori Nundi Raj, many turbulent and rebellious men assembled, and raised disturbances in different parts of that country; and, having possessed themselves of portions of territory belonging to the government, withdrew themselves entirely from the authority of the Raja, and refused to pay tribute; more particularly, Deo Raj, (the brother of Nundi Raj,) who had rebelled, and having surrounded the palace of the Raja with his sentinels, fired several cannon shot at the gate of the palace. With the aid and advice of Hydur Alí however, Nundi Raj soon overcame the enemies of his son-in-law the Raja.

In addition to these disturbances, but of greater importance, were those of the eastern part of Mysore, which was in the greatest disorder and confusion; a brief account of which is as follows:—

When Nundi Raj, after the assassination of the Nawaub Násir Jung, returned in haste[z] towards Mysore, Hydur Alí Khan likewise following him, a man of the name of Gunga Ram, who was the Foujdár of Raikote, Hussoor, and Baglore, and who commanded a party of men in conjunction with the troops of Nundi Raj, having obtained leave on the road to return to his districts departed and commenced to rebel, and excite disturbances; and, after the manner of the Poligars and chiefs of forts in his vicinity, considered himself independent. Nundi Raj, and the other chiefs of the government, with one accord agreed, that there was no one so well qualified to restore peace and order in that disturbed quarter as Hydur Alí Khan—*verse*—"The range of mountains and deserts belongs of right to the lion."[a]—and he was therefore appointed to the command there, with his own troops and the companies of his brother Shahbaz Sáhib, and Khoob Sáhib Dukkuni Jamadár, and two thousand horse. Hydur Alí being invested with full power to act in all matters as he thought best.

Advancing immediately from that place, by a night march, the Khan fell like a sudden calamity

[z] رجع القهقري

[a] O'er rocky height and desert plain,
The lion claims by right to reign.

on the sleeping fortunes of the rebels, and, by stretching forth the arm of courage, speedily subdued them. The rebel, Gunga Ram, was made prisoner, and, as a return for his bad actions, was put in irons. As for the rest of the rebels, by one of Hydur's vigorous attacks he soon lightened their shoulders of the weight of their proud heads, and cast their bodies on the field of eternity. In fact, in the course of two months, he had put to death, or taken prisoners, the whole of the rebels, and had placed strong detachments of his own troops in the Forts of that mountainous country such as those of Holi Droog, Chund Rai Droog, Ruttun Giri, Rai Kote, Hussoor, and Baglore; and he placed in each of them commanding officers on whom he could rely; and then, with much treasure, and many camels and elephants, he returned to Seringaputtun.

About this time Asud Khan, Surdar Khan, and Muhammad Omr, the father of Muhammad Alí commandant, Ghonsa, arrived from Arkat, and were appointed to the high rank of Risaladár in the regular battalions.

CHAPTER IV.

The march of an army, under the command of Nundi Raj, agreeably to the request of Muhammad Alí Khan, Suráj ud dowla, towards Nuthur Nuggur, otherwise called Trichinopoly, and the display of that innate courage in the course of the expedition, which marked the character of the Khan; in the year 1160. H.

After the murder of his father, and that of Násir Jung, Muhammad Alí Khan Suráj ud dowla, Wala Jah, the son of Unwar uddín Khan, the martyr, sought refuge in Nuthur Nuggur, or Trichinopoly. With the intention, therefore, of rooting out the power of Muhammad Alí Khan, Hussain Dost Khan, otherwise Chunda Sáhib Nayut, (who, by the assistance of the French of Pondicherry, had wrested the whole of the province of Arkat from Hidayut Mohi uddín Khan,) now advanced boldly to attack Nuthur Nuggur; having with him a few French troops and his own force amounting to about six thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, and besieged that fort, throwing up batteries, and maintaining a continual fire on the city.

Suráj ud dowla, reduced to extremity, was like a lamp, the light of which glimmers and dies at the approach of morning. He, therefore, wrote to the ministers of the Mysore government, stating that, if they would now assist him in his necessities, and conquer his enemies, he would, after his foes had retreated, and the Souba had been reduced under his authority, consign to their charge the fort of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. He also sent for aid to the governor of the Port of Deona Puttun, an Englishman, and assigned him a monthly allowance; and promised him a Jageer;[a] and by this means obtained from him a number of European soldiers.

Seduced by the flattering prospect of obtaining a fertile rich country, and greedy of gain,[b] Nundi Raj, the minister of the Mysore Raja, associated himself with Morar Rao, and other Poligars; and, having expended a great deal of money, he, with his treasury and artillery, and an army of seven thousand cavalry, and ten or twelve thousand foot, marched towards Trichinopoly. The Raja of Mysore, however, was not consenting to this movement; but, nevertheless, his Dulwai or Prime

[a] جاگیر [b] چشم آز پر نشود مگر زخاک گور

The eyes of avarice will never be filled except by the dust of the Grave.

Minister, with great labour persisted, and carried to the besieged Khan, (Muhammad Alí,) money and supplies of all sorts; indeed, all the aid he required.

Hydur Alí Khan was present in every engagement, in conjunction with the troops of Suráj ud dowla, and displayed the greatest valour; he also made several night attacks on the French troops, and on those of Chunda Sáhib, with great success. His Kuzzaks,[c] who were under the command of Ghási Khan Bede, were likewise appointed to surround and plunder the camp of the French and they captured and brought thence arms, tents, and cattle; and, in one of these night attacks, by their enterprize and bravery they took two guns from the advanced guard of the French. By these actions Hydur Alí established himself a name above his compeers.

The assassination of Chunda Sáhib, at length took place in the Dulwai Munduf, (Mundup) where he had formerly sworn on the Korán not to molest or injure Munka Rani, the wife of Trimul Náík, the Chief of Madhura, who then had charge of the government of Trichinopoly, and to whom, after

[c] قزّاک Kuzzaks are predatory light-horse, a kind of Pindarries.—Bede is another name for the same: Kirkpatrick supposed the word Bede meant Infantry, which, I believe, it does not.

he had drawn her into his snares by oaths and treaties that he would offer her no injury, he not only broke his promise and oath, but, moreover, violated her person, and caused her to be put to death in a most barbarous manner.[d] In consequence of his death, the French withdrew to Pondicherry, and Suráj ud dowla remained successful and master.

He now, however, with great artifice, abandoned his agreement with the Mysorians; and, instead of sending the money, that is pay, which was due to the troops for six months, he sent messages and apologies. Astonished at the Khan's duplicity and villainy, Nundi Raj was also ashamed of his own imprudence in the business; he therefore gave orders to commence the siege of the fort, and Hydur Alí, and his other officers, immediately made an attack on it. The wily Khan, however, after the breaking up of the Trichinopoly treaty, or agreement, sought the friendship and aid of the French, and sent for a number of soldiers of that nation to his aid. He likewise sent to Pondicherry, to purchase warlike stores, as cannon, muskets, powder and shot, and to procure able gunners, and other Frenchmen whom he entertained in his service.

[d] بدار کشیده شد

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The siege lasted three months, and in that time Kumtoo Sáhib, the half brother of Hydur Alí, was slain by a cannon ball. At length, the besieged Khan planned a deep scheme; he sent to Nundi Raj, to request he would despatch some confidential officer, with a party of troops, to garrison the fort, to whom the keys should be delivered up, and that he himself would then retire to take possession of Arkat, under the aid and protection of the English.

Supposing, from this message, that the spell, or witchery, of his prudence and valour had made a proper impression on the serpent-like Khan, Nundi Raj, joyfully despatched his brother or near relation, Gooti Gopal, with Venkut Rao Burki, Khoob Sáhib, Syud Budduni Dukkuni, and Umr Singh, Jamadárs, with a detachment of about two thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, giving them strict orders to provide for the security of the fort and its dependencies.

When these people had reached the gate of the fort, a key was sent to them; but the day being considered very inauspicious by the Hindoos, and also the hour unlucky, they for that reason made excuses, and would not receive the key; but an agreement was made that it should be delivered up to them the next day, and the party went back.

Suráj ud dowla was extremely well pleased at this arrangement, as he had thus fulfilled his promise and engagement. The next day, therefore, the same party returned to the fort, and with great cheerfulness entered it. As soon, however, as they were in, Gooti Gopal and the other officers were sent for separately, under pretence of speaking to and consulting them, and were imprisoned, and the arms of their followers being seized, some of them were confined, and some turned out of the fort. The gates were then closed, and a few shots were fired into the Mysore camp.

Nundi Raj was very grieved and angry at this treachery, yet, at the same time, he was entirely at a loss to know what he should do to remedy his misfortune, at length, however, yielding to fate, he followed the advice of Hydur Alí, and, returned towards Sutti Mungul; foiled and ashamed that after all his exertions, he had lost the chance of possessing so rich a country as Arkat, and had thrown away 3,000,000 [e] of pagodas to no purpose.

The Raja of Mysore, also, being offended at these operations, had not sent any pay for the troops for nine months; and, this causing great distress in the camp, Nundi Raj halted at the town before mentioned, being ashamed to return to the capital.

[e] This appears a gross exaggeration.

About this time, Balajee Rao Nana,[f] the chief of the Mahrattas at Poona, for the first time made an incursion towards Mysore, after taking possession of the Souba Sura, to the chief of which, Nawaub Dilawár Khan, he gave the Purguna of Kolar, in Jageer, leaving the Souba in charge of Bulwunt Rao. Finding that Hydur Alí was absent from the country of Mysore, he proceeded without fear, and, meeting no opposition, laid the whole of the country waste, and placed strong garrisons of his own troops in all the forts, and took permanent possession of them.

The Raja of Mysore, seeing the enemy in great force, and that they had seized all his towns and villages, excepting his capital, Bangalore, and Makri Droog; also that, by the pride and mismanagement of the Dulwai, Nundi Raj, his own troops were confined to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly; and that, however often he wrote informing him of the desolation of his country, and the plunder of his Ryuts, and ordered him to return to his succour, Nundi Raj still refused to comply before making his own arrangements; and, lastly, seeing that all pertaining to the government was falling into confusion, he, (the Raja) overwhelmed with difficulties, and disordered in his senses, at length, purchased the forbearance of the Mahrattas, by

[f] The Paishwa.

paying a krore of rupees to them ; but, although they with their troops returned to Poona, still they did not withdraw their detachments or garrisons, and officers, from the towns and forts of Mysore ; but, on the contrary, increased their number. They, moreover, plundered and laid waste the country, so cruelly and effectually, that to this day some towns are not repeopled.

But, to return, while Nundi Raj, the Dulwai, was encamped at Sutti Mungul, his troops, for want of their pay placed him in Dhurna.[g] The Dulwai, however, having with sweet words and fair promises appeased their anger, sent them to the Raja, at Seringaputtun. But Hydur Alí, in whose personal character he had great confidence, and a Rathore Jamadár, named Hurri Singh, who commanded a hundred and fifty horse, these, with his own Pagah, five hundred horse, and about two thousand foot, he kept with himself. The entire want of money and supplies, however, so oppressed the soldiers, that, Hurri Singh forgetting the ties of salt, or gratitude to his master, in order to obtain his arrears of pay forbade the sleeping and eating of the Dulwai, by placing him in Dhurna, or arrest, and that in so great a degree as even to stop

[g] By sitting at the door of his tent, which was equivalent to imprisoning him.

the water used in his kitchen. The Dulwai, losing heart from this rigour, with his clothes and the vessels of silver and gold brought for his use in travelling, and a small sum of money, paid him off, and discharged him.

As soon as the Jamadár had obtained his money and discharge, he marched away with his baggage, to a place within about three miles from Seringaputtun, and encamped there; and his men being free from care [h] and want, in body and mind, after eating and drinking joyfully, laid themselves down to rest with the greatest confidence.

On witnessing these occurrences, however, Hydur became exceedingly excited, and going to the Dulwai, addressed him in reproachful terms, saying to him, "Why have you acted thus? What you have done is unworthy a man of rank! Is it proper, that, without the knowledge of your most particular friend, and for the sake of paying one of the meanest servants, of the Raj, or Government, you should have incurred the discredit of selling your plate and clothes? and of discharging demands without proof of the justness of the claim. This is far from correct; seeing that to make one man insolent by such an unwise indulgence, is to open the door to similar

[h] دغدغه

claims and insults from the rest of the officers of the troops. It is indispensable, therefore, that he who has placed his foot beyond the circle of obedience, and by that means sought misfortune, should be punished ; and, if you authorise me, I will punish him so that he shall be an example to others."

The Dulwai lent an attentive ear to this advice, and requested that it might be as Hydur Alí had said. Hydur, therefore, immediately rising, without a moment's delay returned to his own place of encampment, and taking five hundred musketeers, or matchlock men, and a store of ammunition with him, he marched straight towards Hurri Singh's halting ground, and falling suddenly on his sleeping party, whose death had arrived, and firing volley after volley among them, slew some, the more fortunate on their beds, and others were slain rising and advancing a few steps, with their swords and shields in their hands. In fine, the whole of the troop, with their mutinous Jamadár, were slain by the sword, bayonet, &c., and all their arms and baggage, with their money, utensils, horses, and the articles they had collected, were brought to the Dulwai, who, with the exception of the money and articles belonging to himself, presented the whole of the plunder, horses, &c., of these slaughtered men to Hydur

Alí, whose prudence in this action acquired for him great renown.

A few days after this, the Dulwai sent for Hydur, and, seating him on the musnud with himself, he consulted with him on the re-establishment of his own affairs, complaining bitterly of his distress for want of money. Hydur immediately took the management of his affairs, (that is, to say, the collection of money for his wants), on his own responsibility, and without delay, like a raging lion, marched with his brave soldiers towards the Poligars; and, in the course of one year, having thrown all the Nairs and Mapillas[1] into the utmost trepidation and confusion, he collected a large sum of money. In this expedition those persons who, according to requisition, came forward with a good will, and did their best to provide the sum demanded, he spared in life and property; but, on the contrary, those who disobeyed his commands, and, without having the license or exemption of the Raja, refused to pay the required tribute, he so completely destroyed, that their names, and those of their children, were erased from the book of time.

The Poligars of the Talookas of Palni and Virapachy, who were exceedingly rebellious, were, by

[1] Hindu Chiefs, and Mussulmans of the Malabar coast.

a well-planned attack, taken with their families and property, and brought in; and, in some of the difficult positions and passes in that country, Hydur also built stockades, or wooden forts, with stakes and planks, which in the language of the Hindoos are called lukkur kote,[k] and in these he left detachments of his own troops. He thus diffused throughout the region a salutary fear of punishment, (which is so necessary to support the authority of Governors), held the country firm, and kept the rebels in proper subjection.

At these successes, which, by the good management of Hydur, produced a large sum of money, Nundi Raj was much pleased, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the Raja, at Seringaputtun, on the conquest of the territory of the rebellious Poligars, with which he sent a krore of rupees, as a nuzzur or present. By this means he washed away half the blackness of discredit or shame which before covered his face.

A short time after this, Hydur Ali was again sent with a body of troops, to establish order at Dindigul, Palghaut, &c. At this time, the chiefs about the Raja, persons who dreaded Hydur's advancement, persuaded him to recal Nundi Raj, and they obtained and despatched letters recalling him, but

[k] لکر کوته

conveying kind assurances to him under the Raja's seal.

As the Dulwai had been travelling for a long time, that is, two or three years, he had become tired of the fatigues of continual movement, and was wishing and looking for an opportunity to return home, to his family, then residing in the fort of Seringaputtun. As soon, therefore, as the letters arrived, he without any fear or apprehension, proceeded to Seringaputtun, and wrote to Hydur Alí, who was employed in reducing the Poligars, to return as quick as he could.

When Hydur Alí found that Nundi Raj had returned to Seringaputtun, he lost no time in completing his arrangements where he was, and with his own troops, consisting of two or three thousand regular infantry, five hundred Chittikars,[l] two hundred Europeans, of all nations, (who had been attracted by high pay from Pondicheri, Mangalore, &c.) four thousand Karnatic foot, and eight hundred horse, with four or five light guns, he marched by regular stages to Seringaputtun, and encamped near the Mana Munduf.

At that time the state of Seringaputtun was as follows. The whole of the country northward from the town of Chutr,[m] which is four fursungs from the

[l] So called from their clothing apparently.

[m] چھتر

city of Seringaputtun, and on the road to Sura, was in the hands of the Mahrattas, and the civil and military officers of these plunderers, regulated the whole of the Talookas and towns, and enjoyed themselves in collecting the revenue. Gopal Rao Mahratta, the Chief of Mirich, who was constituted the Chief of the Souba Sura, after the removal of Bulwunt Rao, again assembled a force, and besieged the fort of Bangalore. The Killadár or governor, however, whose name was Sri Nowas, the son of Vinkat Rao Burki, did not lose heart; but having strengthened the fort, and encouraged the garrison, he opposed the enemy with great constancy and courage. The Chiefs of Mysore, nevertheless, lost from cowardice[n] all sense and discretion, and, like a parcel of old women, trembling, waited for a man to enter the field of valour for them. When, therefore, Nundi Raj and the brave Hydur arrived at Seringaputtun, it appeared as if the breath had entered anew into their lifeless carcases, and now they began again to consult how they should repel their enemies. All the chief officers and Jamadárs being assembled, they were questioned as to how the country, almost entirely lost, could be recovered, and the enemy chastised. In answer to these interrogations, the whole of

[n] شتردلي

the military officers said, that, if the Raja would mount his elephant, and prepare to attack the Mahrattas, they would surround him, and fight to the last man in his defence ; but that, otherwise with their own forces alone, they could not venture to attack the numerous army of the Mahrattas.

CHAPTER V.

An account of the defeat of the Mahrattas under Gopal Rao, in the vicinity of Bangalore, by the bravery of Hydur Alí Khan, and the recapture of the Talookas, and Forts, taken by the Mahrattas; with other occurrences of the year 1168, Hijri—A. D. 1754.

When the heads of the government heard these dastardly words from all the officers commanding their troops, they became hopeless, and, sending for Hydur Alí, they made him acquainted with what had occurred, and besought his aid in the recovery and preservation of the country. The Khan immediately without the least hesitation, made himself responsible for the accomplishment of this arduous undertaking; and the Raja, after complimenting him highly on his courage, embraced him, gave him the title of Khan Bahadúr, and repeated his request for the settlement of the country, and the discomfiture of his enemies; he likewise sent out of the fort his own standard, his own tents and equipage, his musnud ornamented with gold, his treasury, wardrobe, and elephants; and appointed the Khan, Sipahsalar (Commander-in-Chief) and

gave him discretional authority to act as he thought best, and then, giving him the leaf of dismissal,[o] he, to do him honor, accompanied him attended by his chiefs on foot to the Gate of the Palace.

Persian verse. " He who can wield the sword shall have money struck in his name"[p]—or the Sikka shall be read in his name.[q]

As the Khan, and his brother Shahbaz, with their own troops only, now left the city and encamped at the Kurri Kote, the Raja and Dulwai, summoned all the Jamadárs, and gave them strict orders to obey the Sipahsalar, and signified to them that they were dismissed for the purpose of joining him. At first only Khoob Sáhib Dukkani, and Syud Buduni, Jamadárs, (officers who had been lately released from the prisons of Muhammad Alí Khan,) with their troops, amounting to about three thousand horse, arrived; but afterwards, Ruhím Sáhib, Yakoob Sáhib, Meer Bijli, Amr Singh, with their companies and military stores, some officers of foot, and Manuel, the European, with his Risala, made themselves ready to attend the Sipahsalar. The rest of the officers and troops raised a dispute regarding the arrears of pay which were due to

[o] The Betel leaf.

[p] Stamped on the coin his name shall stand revealed
Who bravely wields the sword in battle-field.

[q] "هر که شمشیر زند" "سکه بنامش خوانند"

them, and remained at the capital. Hydur Alí was, therefore, at length obliged to march with the scanty force which he had under his orders, amounting only to four or five thousand horse, twelve thousand regular infantry, and six or seven guns; and, having given the curl of enterprise to the moustache of his manhood, he proceeded towards Bangalore, and in two or three days, with the greatest regularity and order, arrived and encamped in the vicinity of Chinaputtun.

Being aware of his approach, the Mahrattas dispatched fifteen thousand horse to attack him; but, hearing of their advance the Sipahsalar also marched, and took up a position in the jungul or forest of Burdi, or Baroli, where he and his men lay in wait, like tigers waiting for their prey.

Having sent, the next morning, to ascertain the place where the Mahrattas were encamped, he, at night, marched against them with one thousand regular Infantry, and Chittikars, and two hundred Europeans, and attacked them in the rear so successfully, that, abandoning all their baggage, the Mahrattas fled hastily and lost but few in killed and prisoners. After this night attack, which was admirably concerted, and gave them an example of what they (the Mahrattas) had to expect in future, Hydur marched to Bangalore, and en-

camped near Basoon Gori, and immediately wrote and forwarded a letter of encouragement to the besieged Killadár, Sri Nowas, informing him of his arrival, to his (the Killadár's) aid, and the defeat of the enemy. Sri Nowas was now nearly reduced to surrender, by the fire of the Mahrattas, and the want of ammunition, and provisions, but immediately on receiving the letter, and recognizing the signature of Hydur, he recovered his confidence, and for joy fired off his guns, as a salute, at the Mahratta camp.

The Mahrattas, also, seeing that the garrison were roused by the prospect of relief, determined to relinquish the siege of the fort, and attack the troops arrived to its assistance. They, therefore, changed their ground the distance of two fursungs, (about six or seven miles,) to Soondi Gopeh, and encamped there in the best order. On the following morning, Hydur, the Sipahsalar, drew out his forces, and having given charge of his right and left wings to experienced officers, he, with his artillery in readiness, marched straight towards the Mahrattas, who, aware of his purpose, marshalled their troops, and prepared to receive him warmly. The fire soon commenced, and the balls fell like pattering rain from the guns and muskets of Hydur's men, and unable to stand the fire of Hydur's

infantry and artillery, the Mahrattas, lost all power of opposition and resistance, and fled, leaving part of their baggage behind them. Being master of the field of battle, Hydur Alí now taking possession of the deserted baggage, returned to his former ground of encampment, and then, with great art, sending for Sri Nowas the Killadár, under pretence of a visit, he detained him with his own troops, and appointed to the charge of the fort a certain Kubeer Beg, one of his own friends.

The body of Mahrattas, which had been defeated and fled, again collected their scattered numbers, and made ready for action, in the neighbourhood of Nulloonga. In consequence of this, Hydur Alí marched from Bangalore, and encamped two or threee fursungs from Balapoor the greater, and halted there for two days. On the night of the third, however, having obtained a favourable opportunity, he again marched, and attacked the Mahrattas, throwing, such a powerful fire of musketry, guns, and rockets like a tempest of lightning upon them, that he dispersed them and losing their manhood and senses, they fled, leaving their arms, am munition, tents and standards, on the ground.

Hydur thus gained the victory, and the leader of the Mahrattas, having escaped with much difficulty, continued his flight to Nijigul.—After the lapse of about ten or fifteen days, he, however, commenced

again to collect his horse and foot, and was making ready to attack Hydur, when at this period, news arrived from Poona, that Sudusheo Pundit Bhow, and Wiswas Rao, the eldest son of Balajee Rao Nana, who had displayed the standard of conceit and arrogance, and had raised the neck of pride in the empire of Hind, and with three hundred thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, and three hundred guns, had marched towards Dehli, and had taken and plundered the Dárul Khiláfat of the King of Kings; had, at length, in the plain of Gunjawur, depending on Paniput Karnal, received from the powerful hand of Ahmud Shah Doorani, (the grandfather of Zemán Shah the King of Kabul, who with four Dustas of Sir Abdalli, each Dustu consisting of twelve thousand horse, had arrived in Hindustan) such a total defeat, and had been so effectually destroyed, that their name and the token of their existence had departed from the world.[r] (He learned also,) that Balajee Pundit, at hearing of this shameful defeat, the utter ruin of his power, and the destruction of hundreds of thousands of his troops, was so struck with grief, that, from the distress and disorder of his mind, he at length lost his senses, and died, lamenting his misfortunes and loss. Gopal Rao, on receiving this dreadful news, finding

[r] The whole of these paragraphs in the original are very much involved and parenthetical.

he could not hope to oppose Hydur successfully, lost his way in the wilderness of despair; that is, with his troops and his baggage that remained, he retired to Sura, and withdrew all his people from the country of Mysore. Hydur Alí followed his steps, and, having expelled the Mahratta garrisons from the forts depending on Mysore, some by fair means and some by foul, and replaced them by men and officers of his own, he then, with the plunder he had taken from the fugitive Mahrattas, returned, with joy in his heart, and pleasure in his countenance, to Seringaputtun; the departments of which he found in the following unsettled state when he arrived.

The whole of the Jamadárs of horse, with their men armed and ready, amounting to three or four thousand men had secured the gates and posterns of the fort, and stopped all communication with any one, friend or stranger, under pretence of demanding their arrears of pay. The chief officers had made up their beds at the doors of the Raja and Dulwai's habitations, and remained there, demanding their money; and suffered no one in the fort to go out, nor would they allow any one to enter the fort.

On witnessing the rigour and injustice of these soldiers, Hydur Alí was greatly excited and en-

raged, and determined to punish them; when, at the same time, the Raja, Nundi Raj, &c. placing entire confidence in Hydur, sent to him, through the medium of a woman who sold herbs, an account of the misery of their situation, from the oppression of these faithless soldiers, and begged his assistance, in obtaining a settlement of their disputes with them.—Hydur Alí, in reply, sent verbally all the consolation and comfort he thought necessary at that moment, and professed his friendly wishes to do them service. On the ensuing day, therefore he sent word to the mutinous Jamadárs, that he, also, was one of the claimants or creditors of the government, and that he had been employed on hard service for months, without any pay or assistance whatever, and that, if they would allow him, he would join them, and thus obtain the settlement of his own demands; but that they might be certain that, until they opened the fire of their guns and rockets on the Dewaun Khana, and Zanana, (or the palace) of the Raja, and showered a tempest of shot on these places like hail, and until they filled the heads of the conceited occupants[s] with the black smoke of their artillery and musketry, they would never submit to follow the right path. If they chose he said to act on his suggestion, well,—if not,—the surrounding suburbs of the city

[s] پوچ

were rich and populous; and, besides them, there was the whole country of Mysore, from which, if he thought proper, he could collect his dues without difficulty.

When the Jamadárs heard this excellent advice from Hydur, they began to fear that he would carry his plan into execution, by plundering their houses, which they had built in the Bahadúr Poora, near the old Eed Gah, a little to the westward of the battery of Muhammad Alí, commandant, and which part of the suburbs was very populous. They, therefore, gave him leave to enter the fort, with a few men; but Hydur, that Lion of the forest of courage and enterprize, without the least delay, accompanied by two light guns, seven or eight hundred regular infantry, and two hundred spear men on foot, entered the fort, and, having posted his men in parties at different places, visited the Raja and the Dulwai, and offered consolation and comfort to them. Then, after having also pleased the Jamadárs with kind and flattering words and speeches, and having attracted the hearts of high and low to him by his affable manners, he returned to his encampment. The next day he entered the fort, accompanied by the same number of men as before, and now told the Jamadárs that, as there was no guard on the Zanana, or women's apart-

ments, of the Raja or Dulwai, he would place his own foot soldiers on them, that they might stop all supplies of water and other necessaries to their inhabitants; and, the Jamadárs having yielded to this proposal, he immediately sent for two thousand foot, well armed, and posted guards on the Zananas of the Raja and Dulwai, and, in short in the course of two or three days, he secured, or made himself master of, all the roads and lanes leading to the palace.

The day after this he proceeded to the Private Hall of audience,[t] and having placed a number of his attendants under pretence of Dhurna in the inside of the Hall, which is called Chutr Duddi, or Doori,[u] he of a sudden came out, and told the Jamadárs that a settlement of his and their demands had been effected; but, that the regular accounts of their monthly pay must be entered into the Duftur, or register of the Tosha Khona, (or treasury) and that they might then take their money. That, they must take up their beds, therefore, from the palace, and carry them away, and then, with the Vakeel or agent of the Risala or troop, and one Mutsuddi, (or writer) attend, the Kutcheree,[v] that their monthly accounts might be made up,

[t] خاص   [u] چتر دري

[v] Any public hall for the settlement of revenue or judicial questions.

and their claims discharged; also that, if they had any other intentions he thought they would in the end repent of them. Having said this, he ordered his men to keep the Jamadárs, with a Vakeel and Mutsuddi each, present in the Hall, and turn the remainder of their men out of the fort. As his brave soldiers were drawn up in companies, parading about the streets and markets, with their drums beating, and handling their arms, the Jamadárs, seeing the posture of affairs, lost their colour,[w] and submitted to Hydur's pleasure and commands, and with an accountant or two, each repaired to the Kutcheree, where the astute Hydur himself examined the monthly pay lists of each Jamadar, and, causing a memorandum of each, to be taken, kept it by him; while, to compare the numbers in the returns with the numbers present for duty, he demanded an actual muster. For, in fact, the Jamadárs of a thousand horse had present at that time only six hundred; those of five hundred, but three hundred, and those of two hundred but half as many; although, by the collusion of the writers of the Pay Office, and the Vakeels or agents of the regiments, they extorted pay for the full complement, and, for actual muster, played at hide and seek:[x] as soon as the clear-headed Hydur under-

[w] Became alarmed.

[x] شش و پنج

stood this excessive roguery,[y] he immediately sent for the Jamadárs and took the muster of their men and horses; and, being much vexed at the villany of the accountants of the Treasury, he deducted the amount overdrawn for absent or non-effectives, from the day on which the Jamadárs and their companies were received into the service, to the very day he mustered them; and made up and settled their accounts on that scale. Now, as, by reckoning, in this mode, Jamadárs, instead of creditors, were made debtors to the State in a large amount, in order, to discharge the same, they were obliged to give up their horses, camels, elephants, tents and utensils, and even their clothes, of all which he took a regular account, and then discharged them. But, of the Jamadárs, any one who had been his companion in the field and at board, to him he paid his money in a certain mode, and re-engaged him. As, in this way, a body of five or six thousand of these men were ruined, their horses were taken by Hydur Alí, and sent to his own stables, and, in place of their riders, he hired Bargeers, (men enlisted as cavalry to ride the government horses) and in this manner he surmounted his difficulties.

[y] عين فدوح Ironically. He must have been fully aware of it, as it is customary, and it is most probable he did himself the same.

CHAPTER VI.

The quarrel between Nundi Raj and his son-in-law, and his retirement to the fort of Mysore. Also, his contention with Hydur, the Sipahsalar, and at length his being taken prisoner. Also, the acquisition of the Talookas of Ani Kul, and the district of Barh Mahl, by the Khodadaud Sirkar (Hydur), with other events of the year 1169, Hijri.—A. D. 1755.

After the Sipahsalar, Hydur, by his prudence and courage, had defeated the Mahrattas, and recovered the country taken by them, he placed the government of Seringaputtun on a sure and established basis, and relieved the state from the burden and danger of mutinous and seditious servants; and having done this, he retired to his own house.

About this period, the Raja of Mysore, on account of the hopeless and bootless return of his troops from the expedition to Trichinopoly, which, notwithstanding it was attended with an immense expense, produced no profit, again reproached Nundi Raj in angry terms and manifested great displeasure. Nundi Raj, who, also, was much ashamed of his want of political foresight in the affair, with great

trouble and difficulty, and by pleading his advanced age as an apology for ceasing to bear a part in the government, was allowed to retire to Mysore. He accordingly withdrew entirely from the management of state affairs, and took up his residence in that fort, retaining, as a necessary protection, a body of about two thousand foot, five or six hundred horse, and five hundred regular infantry.

The other chiefs of the government, having consulted together, were, however, desirous to go further, and obtain from Nundi Raj the sealed Sunnuds, (patents or commissions), of the Dewanni, or Prime Ministership. One man, in particular, named Khundi Rao, a Brahman, who was the Mooshrif, (overseer or inspector), of Hydur Ali's troops, was the most active and influential in this design; he induced his master Hydur to join him in his object, and the whole together petitioned the Raja to demand the Sunnuds.

On receiving these requests, the Raja, to oblige them, demanded the patents of the appointment of Prime Minister, (Purdhani or Sáhib Dewanni), from Nundi Raj, who returned for answer that as the documents in question had not been derived to him during the reign of the present Raja, but from his father and grandfathers to the ancestors of Nundi Raj, generation after generation, the re-

turning of them would be superfluous; for, when it was considered that he, Nundi Raj, had abandoned of his own free will all regulation or control of the Raja's affairs, he, the Raja, might be certain that, through the medium of the Sunnuds, Nundi Raj could cause no impediments to any one, in matters of state, and he might estimate the old Sunnuds or patents as copy books of children or waste paper. He added, that he, Nundi Raj, recommended the Raja with the advice of his council, to select, his ministers himself, from those best able to conduct his affairs, and let him, a weak, worn out man alone, and relieve him from the trouble and perplexity of public business.

The whole, however, of those who were seeking the injury and downfall of Nundi Raj, by telling tales and making misrepresentations to the Raja, brought his mind to determine that Hydur Alí, after having been flatteringly called by the Raja his son, was the proper person to be sent to obtain the seals and Sunnuds. As soon as Hydur, therefore, marched with his own troops towards Mysore, he sent a detailed notice to Nundi Raj, that, as some enemies of his had deceived and turned the Raja's mind against him, and had persuaded him to seize the Sunnuds or patents of his office, it appeared to him, (Hydur Alí), necessary or rather the

best policy that he should send in the papers, through the medium of his most particular friend, (meaning himself,) and that he, Nundi Raj, might place every reliance on him. Nundi Raj, however, not being inclined to agree to this request, the fort was surrounded by order of the Raja, batteries were raised on all sides and guns mounted. Notwithstanding all this, Hydur Alí, in hopes to avoid actual conflict, still wisely advised him to submit, but Nundi Raj would listen to none of his advice, however prudent and politic, but prepared to defend himself, and fired upon Hydur's camp.

That lion of the field of battle, therefore, could hesitate no longer; and he now gave orders to his brave soldiers to commence the attack, who immediately opened a fire of all arms, guns, muskets, &c. on the fort. The fire of war was consequently lighted up on all sides, and both parties fought courageously; but, at length, by their valour and strength of arm Hydur Alí's fearless troops brought on the heads of the besieged a resemblance of the day of Judgment. Still, their chiefs defended themselves with great bravery for three months, when, their provisions and ammunition becoming exhausted, they surrendered, and Nundi Raj, agreeably to the desire of his friends, accompanied by his family in carriages, proceeded to Hydur's camp and his

troops marched out of the fort, and leaving a garrison in it, and taking with him Nundi Raj, Hydur returned to Seringaputtun, where Nundi Raj was placed in confinement. In obedience to orders from the Raja, Hydur by artful means obtained the patents of the Prime Minister and other papers from Nundi Raj; and then, by the sanction of the Raja, and the recommendation of the Chiefs of the Government, the office of Prime Minister, was given to the Brahman Khundi Rao, an old servant, Hydur supposing him, faithful, and he received strict orders to do nothing in affairs of Government without the knowledge and sanction of Hydur. In this matter Hydur, however, was unsuspicious and ignorant of the changes which the revolving heavens, or the arch conjurer Time, (who varies his tricks every moment), might bring about.

As soon as he had delivered up his patents to Hydur, having nothing further to care for, and considering his residence in such circumstances at Seringaputtun a degradation, Nundi Raj with great eloquence pleaded for and obtained leave to retire to his three Jageers, which had belonged to him of old and which he still possessed; these Jageers were, the Kusba or town of Kinnoor, Puria Puttun, and Arkul Goorah, with Anchiti Droog, a perpetual or permanent assignment—he himself resid-

ing at the town of Kennoor, and maintaining, for the protection and regulation of his dependencies, six or seven hundred horse, two thousand regular infantry, and about four thousand Karnatic foot; and thus he rested from his labours, and enjoyed himself.

About this time, Suráj ud Dowla Muhammad Alí Khan, Wala Jah, at the instigation of the English, marched with a body of troops to attack Pondicherry. The French immediatly sent a Vakeel, or messenger, to Hydur Alí, the noise of whose courage and political ability had reached the utmost corners of the earth; but whose fame was more particularly known in the countries of Hind and the Dukhun, and requested he would afford them aid; offering to give up, for the support of the troops sent to their assistance, the revenues of two Purganas, one Chinchee, and the other Tyag Gurh, both which depended on them. Hydur, the protector of the helpless, immediately stained the finger of the Vakeel's request with the henna of accordance, and dispatched a force of three thousand horse, six thousand regular, and two thousand Karnatic infantry, under the command of Syud Mukhdoom, his half brother, with abundance of stores, ammunition, and provisions, to Pondicherry.

With Syud Mukhdoom, on his departure, was

associated a certain Asud Khan Mahkuri, Nayut, who had been formerly in the service of the Chief of Kirpa, and had been appointed to the Barh Mahl district. This man was universally known for his excessive bravery, and had no equal in his kind regard for his comrades,—but it may not be uninteresting to mention here some instances of his bravery. When Abdul Mujeed Khan was killed, by the hand of Bulwunt Rao, the Mahratta, Imrut Rao, also a chief of the Mahrattas, was sent by his orders with five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, to take possession of the Barh Mahl district. Having plundered the Kusba of Wanambari, he was advancing further, when this brave fellow, feeling his honour as Foujdár rather roughly handled, by the Mahrattas, and his blood being up, sallied forth from the town of Tripatoor, and on an open space, to the northward of that town, fell in with the Mahrattas; and, not taking any account of their numbers, with only five horsemen he attacked them as a tiger attacks a herd of deer, and actually beat them off his bounds; the said Imrut Rao being wounded in the action. Sometime after this event, Uzeez Khan, a one-eyed man, being envious of this brave man's reputation, obtained for himself the agency or lieutenancy of this district, and arrived to take possession. Offended at the neglect and want of appreciation of

his services, shewn by the Chief of Kirpa, Mohsun Khan, (alias Moocha Mean,) Asud Khan of his own accord left his service, and took up his residence at Rai Vellore. Knowing his value, the Nawaub Bahadúr sent for him, at the same time providing him with funds for his expenses and carriage. This officer was therefore now attached to Syud Mukhdoom's force, and the Syud marched with his mi i-tary stores from Seringaputtun to Bangalore, where he learned that the Poligar of Anikul had given up the care of his own dominions, and, being tired of governing, had presumed to oppress his people and despoil his own relations and servants of their rights.

Mukhdoom, therefore, taking advantage of an opportunity, suddenly surprised him in the night and sent him off a prisoner to Seringaputtun. Placing a garrison in his fort, he then marched on. At this time, news arrived, that the Barh Mahl district, from the tyranny of Uzeez Khan, the one-eyed slave of Moocha Mean, the Chief of Kirpa, had fallen into disorder, all the inhabitants having been plundered by him; and that some of them had actually arrived, to complain of their hard treatment, and to request the Khan to restore order among them. Syud Mukhdoom, however desirous and determined he might be to protect them, still dared not advance

a foot without Hydur's commands. After some consideration, therefore, he addressed a letter to Hydur, who, on receiving his letter, without hesitation, dispatched an answer, authorizing him to undertake the protection or regulation of the district, without further delay.

Passing, therefore, with his troops by the defile of Rai Kote, Syud Mukhdoom immediately came in contact with Uzeez Khan, who, with his troops, forthwith abandoned the country, without fighting and fled to Kirpa. Mukhdoom, therefore, after having placed garrisons in the forts and hill forts, &c. of the Barh Mahl, and left Asud Khan Mahkuri there as Foujdár, advanced toward Pondicherry, and conducted his march thither with such address, that he arrived there without being molested or opposed by any one ; after which, making a vigorous night attack on the English Troops, detached to guard the trenches or batteries, he with all his stores and ammunition safely entered the fort. The besiegers, however, being subsequently more on their guard, by the fire of their guns and small arms effectually closed in future the road, in or out, to the besieged. Notwithstanding this, Syud Mukhdoom encamped with his troops near Vallinoor, and took the defence of the city on himself. With regard to the Purguna of Chinchi, which is eighteen

kose west from Pondicherry, the authority of the French had ceased there, and it had fallen into the hand of the Chief of Arkat, Muhammad Alí Khan; the government was not therefore in Mukhdoom's hands. Tyag Gurh, however, which was a very distant dependency, was placed under the authority of Mukhdoom's agent who remained there.

Pending the defence of Pondicherry, however, for want of hay, corn, &c., the troops and cattle suffered greatly; and most of the horses and camels became useless or died for want of forage; but, notwithstanding these hardships and difficulties, the garrison continued to make a brave defence.

CHAPTER VII.

An account of the treachery of the Chiefs of the Mysore state, and the base ingratitude of the proud and foolish Brahman, Khundi Rao, to his patron; and his arriving at the punishment due to his bad aetions. Also the invasion, or incursion, of Esajee Beenee Mahratta.[z] 1170 Hijri. A. D. 1756.

When the villain Brahman, Khundi Rao, by the kindness and aid of his master, had obtained free of expense or trouble, the Seven Sunnuds of the Dewanni, or first ministership of the Mysore State and when he saw that the rest of the officers of government were not averse to his views and policy, he imagined that his own good fortune and propitious stars had aided him in the work, and that the heavens revolved to accomplish his designs. In a very short time, therefore, for this very reason—that the water of a little pool, soon becomes offensive, and that a dog has no relish for the sweetness of rice and milk,—he with a hope of establishing his own inauspicious power, turned his back on his patron;

[z] بيني Signifies the nose, but by the Mahrattas the advanced guard of a body of troops is ealled the Beenee.

and, considering himself independent in the binding and loosing all matters of state, he unrighteously placed the foot of his designs beyond the circle of his ability, and planned the expulsion and destruction of his master, and his establishment; indeed, did his best to root out his power and authority. With this purpose, he in private addressed himself to the Raja, in the following terms—" This contemptible Náík, (meaning Hydur,) has increased to his present height, and power, by the favour and benefits conferred on him by the Maharaja, and has become the possessor of wealth, territory, and a military force; and this in truth seems likely to be the cause of much danger to your authority.[a] God forbid, a foreigner or stranger, for instance, a Mussulman, should enter into the affairs of this government, and thus cheaply obtain possession of the riches and power accumulated and established, by the labour of so many years.—If however, I am permitted, I will exert my abilities in the destruction of his power. *Verses from Sadi.*[b] " A tree which has just taken root may be pulled up by the strength of a man; but if let alone for a

[a] مخل

[b] The tree that just has taken root
Men can tear up; but, if allowed to stay
Till rolling years its strength recruit,
Waggon, nor team, shall rend it then away.

time, you cannot pull it up with a waggon, or, a team of horses."

The Raja, inexperienced and low minded, and an example that rank does not confer capacity, lent a willing ear to these suggestions, but still with a cautious regard to his own safety; for, he allowed the ungrateful Brahman to act as he pleased in the matter, but himself preserved the strictest silence. *Verses.* "He, (Khundi Rao,) was like the base born silk worm, who when he invests himself with a silken robe of honour, loses himself." He did not reflect, that treachery never fails to bring contempt and degradation in the end, but spread the net of his wiles, over the whole of the officers, and servants, of the Mysore government, and associated them in his plans.

At the same time, he wrote to the Chief, (the Názim), of Poona, in the following terms,—"That a certain Mussulman, a servant of inferior rank, had increased in power to that degree, that he had seized and usurped the whole of the wealth and territory of Mysore, and had grown so arrogant that the Raja had nothing left to him but the name; and that, if the Poona State would now assist them, and remove or take away this Mussulman, the yearly tribute, with two Lakhs of Rupees, Nuzzur, or as a present, and five Lakhs of Rupees, for the expenses of the subsidiary troops, should be

immediately paid." This letter being dispatched, he waited for opportunities and an answer.

As Hydur had detached a great part of his troops, to Pondicherry, and another body of troops under the Foujdári of Meer Alí Ruza Khan, for the necessary protection of the Barh Mahl, he was left with only two or three risalas of regular infantry, (consisting of about fifteen hundred men) four hundred horse of his own stables, and a thousand foot without arms, in his encampment, which was near the Deo Rai Peeth, on the bank of the river, (Kauveri) where also his family, relations, dependents and workmen, resided. By prudence and foresight, however, and observing closely the conduct and movements of the faithless Rao, he gained some information, which induced him to provide, as is proper for all persons in authority, for his own safety, by raising two or three batteries round his residence, and keeping his guns mounted and in readiness. But, notwithstanding this, Hydur frequently sent for the Brahman, under pretence of particular business, and to ascertain what he was about; for, whatever might be his conduct, Hydur still had confidence in him, and merely wanted by kindness and gentleness to prove his political capacity. *Verse.* " Heat will bring iron out of stone," by gentleness one may insinuate himself as water

into steel.[c] The Brahman, however, under various pretexts, put off his attendance from today to to-morrow, and often sent word, that the Raja would not allow him to leave the fort, but that, if Hydur himself would come, and ask the Raja's leave, he, Khundi Rao, was ready to return with him. By these strange answers Hydur was filled with doubt and thrown into great perplexity; he did not, however, lose courage, or neglect any means to protect himself.

When the letters, before mentioned, arrived at Poona, Madhoo Rao, the son of Nana, greedy of the things of this world, which is the Paradise of the covetous—*verses*, "The covetous, with all the riches of the world are never satisfied, the cup of the bubble is not filled by the sea"[d]—he immediately dispatched Esajee Pundit Beenee, (that is the Chief of the Mahratta advanced guard,) with forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and the artillery, which Nana had left in the Souba Sura, when he returned to Poona, was given to him, to accompany him.

When the news of the arrival of the Mahrattas

[c] The temper of steel is called the water.

[d] Though all earth's treasures he possess'd,
Unsatisfied the covetous would be:
The bubble, on the water's breast,
Remains unfilled by all the boundless sea.

reached the false Brahman, he formed a deep scheme the same night, and the next morning shut the gates of the fort, pointed the largest guns in the direction of his patron's (Hydur's) camp or cantonments, and fired several shots at them. Hydur, who was in his Dewan Khana, on hearing this left it, and having viewed the fort, saw a change of policy was in contemplation, and that his secret suspicions were now about to be verified. He however, thought—*verses*, "what does the (Kargus)[e] vulture enjoy of life but carrion—of what advantage is a long life to a fool."—He, therefore, immediately manned his defences with musketeers, and also, without the knowledge of any one dispatched a number of men, and seized all the Ambakars[f] of the river (Kauveri) side with their baskets,[g] it being now the time of the flood, (rains), and made them prisoners. Then, having placed his infantry and cavalry in readiness round his house, he sent for the writers of his different departments, and made them write out distinct lists of what he was possessed of, in valuable cloths, elephants, camels, arms, and the most precious of his household property, as rich stuffs, utensils, &c., and arranged all

[e] کرگس

[f] Watermen.

[g] Baskets covered with skins, used as boats.

this business by midday. During that time, the perfidious[h] Brahman, with a body of horse and foot, made a sortie from the Mysore gate, and attacked Hydur's encampment; but the men Hydur had placed in his batteries gave them such a warm reception with their guns and musketry, that they were defeated and fled; and although they returned and repeated their foolish attacks, they were constantly repelled.

In the evening, Hydur having collected from his Zanana, all his money, and valuables in gold, silver, and precious stones, and placed them in bags, and having consoled and comforted his family and dependants; he with two or three hundred well mounted horse, taking with him his bags of gold and jewels, crossed the river in baskets,[i] and, marching all night, arrived the next morning at Anikul. Having made his arrangements here in an hour or two, Hydur next addressed a letter to Kubeer Beg, the Kiladár of Bangalore informing him that he might expect him there. That worthy friend, on hearing of the approach of Hydur, was well pleased; but as the chief civil officers, (Huzaurian), were

h وخيم العاقبة

i These basket boats appear to have been used in Ireland, and there called Corragh, they are described as—Carabus-parva seapha ex vimine facta quæ contexta crudo corio genus navigii præbet.

the servants of the Raja, he was apprehensive of them, and he therefore devised the following plan. Under pretence of visiting some gardens in the vicinity, he assembled the civil officers of the fort,[i] and took them out with him; giving orders, to the guards at the gates, not to oppose the entrance of Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr, and his followers, as he was coming to the fort on particular business from Seringaputtun. The Mirza, after this, dispatched a letter, inviting him to Bangalore. As soon as Hydur saw this letter, from his trusty well wisher, he with great satisfaction marched into the fort; and, having quietly placed guards of his own men on the gates and Posterns, he now made himself easy. After staying out an hour or two, the Mirza returned with the officers, and immediately visited Hydur, who, by his presents and promises to the officers and men of the old garrison, so completely won their hearts, that they all agreed to serve him, and sacrifice their lives for him whenever required.

After the settlement of this affair Hydur immediately sent for all the bankers and merchants of the city, and having given them assignments,[k] or drafts, for the amount, he took fifty Lakhs of Rupees from them. He also informed Meer Alí Ruza

[i] هزاریان [k] تمسکات

Khan of his arrival alone at Bangalore, and the circumstances which led to his arrival, and requested him to come to him. He likewise wrote to Mukhdoom Sáhib, at Pondicherry, informing him of the treachery of the ungrateful Brahman, the incursion of the Mahrattas, at the invitation of that seditious person; and his (Hydur's) having in consequence sought refuge at Bangalore, without troops or stores, and he requested Mukhdoom to join him immediately. When, however, Meer Alí Ruza Khan, with his troops, amounting to about two thousand regular infantry, (Bar,[l]) three hundred horse, a thousand irregular foot, and five guns, arrived, Hydur felt still more confident; and, being now strong in heart, he threw up batteries[m] or outworks at Busoon Goori and Hussoor, and encamped there, occupying himself in collecting horse and foot.

When the ungrateful Brahman found, on the next day, that the lion[n] had left his old hunting ground, and had hoisted the standard of valour in the manhood-testing field of Bangalore, spreading the terror of his name in all quarters of the world, he proceeded with a few men to Hydur's encampment and having seized all the property remaining

[l] The word بار signifies a wall of a town, a hedge, &c.

[m] بتریها [n] حیدر Signifies a lion in arabic.

there, he carried it into the fort, and placed the family, and the fortunate son of Hydur,[o] (then about seven years of age), in an empty house near the Alí Musjid, which at that time was a Hindu temple, and posted a guard over them. He next, without the least delay, began to remove and to replace the Killadárs and Talookdárs of Mysore, or the commanders of forts and districts, and assembled a body of troops, for the conquest of Bangalore.

In the intermediate time Esajee Beenee, with his heavy force, arrived, like a hungry hawk, pouncing on its prey, and the Brahman, estimating his arrival as an instance of the greatest good fortune, suggested to him the plan to be pursued in regard to Hydur, and made him a present of Hydur's elephants, about thirty in number, (which he, Hydur, was training, and for which he had paid a large price,) with other valuables. Then sending him with injunctions to capture the fort of Bangalore, and make Hydur Alí prisoner, he speedily followed, with a force of nine thousand horse, fourteen thousand foot and a train of heavy guns, and soon also arrived there.

[o] In one manuscript a verse is inserted here—*verse* "from whose forehead rank and dignity shone resplendent"—giving notice to the world beforehand.

The rank and dignity, which all might see
Resplendent on his brow, told what the man would be.

In the meanwhile, the Mahrattas had raised a terrible storm in the vicinity of Bangalore, and had so pillaged, and destroyed the people, that most of the towns and villages, from the constant ravages of that ill omened army, were left without an inhabitant.[p] But, during these proceedings whatever approaches were pushed on, trenches dug, or batteries raised, to breach the fort, were rendered of no avail; for the soldiers of Hydur frequently sallied forth, and burned their trenches, and victoriously repelled their assaults.

At this time, Mukhdoom Sáhib, according to Hydur's requisition, having taken leave of the French at Pondicherry, with the same worn out body of troops, the state of which has been before described, arrived by forced marches at Tyag Gurh; and, having taken four guns from the top of the mountains, brought them along with him, and, marching through the Pass of Tippoor, arrived at Kishengiri. Here he took some necessary supplies of provisions and ammunition, from Asud Khan Mahkari, the Foujdár, and, giving him a receipt for the same, then marched by Rai Kote to Anikul.

Upon hearing of Mukhdoom's arrival there raging like a mad elephant, with a large force, the Brahman and the Mahrattas, immediately determined to attack

p بیچراغ

him. Accordingly, with their plundering horse and foot they let loose their courage for the fight, and, although camel-hearted,[q] they being in numbers like locusts, arrayed themselves in great force against him on the field. Mukhdoom Sáhib, nevertheless, did not give the game out of his hands; but arranged his artillery and infantry on the lower grounds, while he himself, with his light-bridled and well-trained horse, intending to give them a lesson, kept the higher parts of the ground. The two Surdárs, (the Brahman and Mahratta), in their pride, not estimating the bravery of their opponents, as they appeared few in number, immediately charged them, and Mukhdoom Sáhib retiring with his horse, and giving the signal to rise to the parties he had placed in ambush, they immediately rose, and opening a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, killed a great number of the infidel Mahrattas. Nor did they withdraw their hands while they had power from slaying and plundering their enemies, and thousands on both sides were stretched on the field of death.

The Mahrattas were defeated, and fled; but, towards the evening, they reassembled, and surrounded and besieged Mukhdoom's lions, buzzing round them like flies continually. Mukhdoom,

[q] Cowards.

therefore, forwarded a letter to Hydur Alí, stating his arrival at Anikul, with stores and ammunition, and his being surrounded and besieged by the Mahrattas and Brahman's troops.

On receiving this letter, Hydur, by using his intelligence and prudence to the best end, and agreeably to the rules of those who love to overcome difficulties, immediately wrote and despatched a letter to Nundi Raj, informing him that the Brahman, Khundi Rao, had followed the path of treachery and rebellion, and that he himself had been compelled to abandon his station and property, and separate himself from his family. He also made known to him the arrival of his troops from Pondicherry, and their being prevented from joining him by the two vile Infidels, the Mahratta and Mysorean, and their want of some place of support or refuge.

When the Dulwai heard the terms of this letter from that great and illustrious man his old friendship again warmed his heart, and he became convinced that the misfortunes which had before befallen him arose from the villany of this Brahman. He, therefore, wrote a kind and consolatory letter in reply, with a note to the Killadár of Anchiti Droog, directing that provisions should be supplied to Mukhdoom Sáhib's troops, and that they should be allowed to seek support and refuge under the protection of the guns of that

hill fort, the garrison there being his. This note Hydur immediately forwarded, with corresponding suggestions of his own, to Mukhdoom Sáhib. Mukhdoom, who, in opposing his enemies and preserving his own troops, had been for three or four days exposed to great difficulties, but who, notwithstanding he had two armies to contend with, had never quitted the field, however pressed by force or artifice;[r] and who, during all this time, whilst oppressed by the want of water, forage, corn, and carriage, had still maintained himself in the same place by dint of hard fighting; on receiving the letters of his master, and the orders of Nundi Raj, immediately formed his troops, and attacked his opponents, and the two worthless chiefs, finding they could not resist his brave soldiers, retired like foxes before them; but, nevertheless, still continued to surround the victorious army, and occupied themselves in playing off their treacherous wiles. Mukhdoom, however, without fear or hesitation, with his right and left wings under the command of his experienced officers of horse and foot, marched, still keeping up a hot fire, straight to the Droog, before mentioned, and forwarded the order of Nundi Raj to the Killadár. The Killadár, on receiving it, immediately admitted the troops to the protection of the hill fort, and furnished them

[r] تعبیه

with provisions and articles needful to them of all kinds, at reasonable prices, and he thereby obtained great credit.

The Mahrattas, however, when they saw this state of affairs, sent for their artillery, commenced a distant fire on Mukhdoom's troops, and also made incessant attacks on them. One day and two nights passed in this way, but, on the third night, Mukhdoom, with some brave and experienced officers, two hundred (Kulahposh) Europeans,[s] and two thousand regular infantry, after climbing hills, and descending vallies, in the darkness of the night, arrived in the rear of the enemy's camp, and made such a fierce attack on them, that, losing with their senses all power to fight, they fled to the deserts of shame and bitter reflection, and the two inexperienced chiefs, that is Esajee Beenee and the seditious Rao, seeing this sudden calamity, alone, without any covering for their heads or feet, fled and escaped from the conflict. Of their troops, some who awakened from their sleep of forgetfulness laid hold of their swords and muskets, and, making no distinction between friend and foe, slew each other; the rest, both horse and foot, each seizing his opportunity, fled from this trial of manhood, and, by tears and supplications, saved their lives from the hands of Hydur's blood drinkers.

[s] کلاه پوش

Having gained a great victory, Mukhdoom rejoicing had his conquest proclaimed by his loud kettle drums, on the portals of the world ; and, in the morning, with the baggage of the defeated Mahrattas, their guns and stores, which lay about in heaps, he returned to his ground of encampment. The next day the two defeated chiefs again collected their followers ; and, like crows cawing with cries of ha and hoo, notwithstanding their dispersion, and the confusion of their faculties, again assembled in one place.

About this time, Nundi Raj wrote to the Mahrattas, that Hydur Alí Khan was the pillar of the Mysore State, and that he had not only established just claims on that state, but that he might be considered its master ; that, at this time, a low servant of his, a Brahman, according to the *verse*, " When the lair is empty the fox gives himself all the airs of the lion,"[t] being spoiled by the favor and kindness of his master,—*verses*, " He who is wicked will never fail to do evil—the faithless man can never be trusted,—had rebelled against him, but that his labour was useless, for this wicked action could not be profitable to him—" Confidence cannot be placed in a low man for more than a hour or two—The scum which rode at the top, soon

[t] When from his lair the lion's gone,
The lion's airs the fox puts on.

sinks to the bottom of the vessel"[u]—" And that it was not worthy of them (that is the Mahrattas), that they should interfere thus for him in the government of the Mysore country, that if they wished to obtain the money due for the Chouth, or Tribute, they should first consider how they might obtain its payment, and afterwards return home, without loss or damage." After the receipt of this letter from Nundi Raj, the Mahratta put less confidence in the Brahman, Khundi Rao, and some angry words passed between them; and as the Mahrattas had suffered much from the troops of Hydur, they conceived it their best policy to return home, and, accordingly Esajee made known his intentions to Hydur, demanding, at the same time, a sum of money. In reply Hydur pleaded his poverty, from the loss of his property, which had been plundered through the intrigues and rebellion of the Brahman; but he promised that, as soon as he should have established his power, and had time to regulate his departments,[x]

[u] The man who has a wicked mind
Wicked ever wilt thou find:
Put in a faithless man no trust,
Not for an hour can he be just:
The scum, that floated on the top,
Down to the bottom soon will drop.

[x] کارخانجات

the amount should be paid. The Mahrattas now requested he would give up to them the Barh Mahl; and, as they strenuously insisted on this gift, Hydur, to please them, and as a temporary expedient, sent an order, written in the name of Asud Khan Mahkurri, the Foujdár of Kishengiri, to give up the district of the Barh Mahl. Sealing it with his large seal, but without enclosing it in an envelope, he thus despatched it to the Mahrattas; and Esajee, delighted to obtain it, and conceiving that all is gain which is saved out of a burning house, immediately marched from the vicinity of Bangalore.

Hydur now, with the rapidity of lightning, marched, and joined the force of Mukhdoom Sáhib, and encamped outside the fortress of Bangalore with his troops and stores. He then secretly wrote to the Foujdár of the Barh Mahl, that it was merely with a view to expediency and his own security, that he had written an order to him, without an envelope, to give up the Barh Mahl district; but that he, (the Foujdár), was to keep his station, with all his force and ability, perfectly independent, and on no account to allow the Mahratta to enter or possess himself of the fort. The prudent Foujdár, therefore, independent, and at his leisure, provided for the defence of his forts.

In the mean time, Esajee, the Beenee, arrived

with his deceptious orders at Kishengiri, and forwarded it to the Foujdár, with his own demand of the surrender of the fort. On receiving the order that able and obedient man demanded a repetition of it in his name, with the signature of his master, and the impression of his private seal;[y] and further intimated, that he could never think of giving up forts and territory to a single order, and that not even enclosed in an envelope. When the Mahratta insisted on an authentic repetition of the order, Hydur plainly told him, that no order or signature should be repeated; and the Mahratta saw, by such a manly answer, that his negociation had been baffled, and that there was no use in squabbling about it, as the country could never be retained in his possession.

While he was in this distress, his intelligencers brought him information, that Hydur, with the troops of Meer Alí Ruza and Mukhdoom Sáhib, had left, like a hungry lion, his lair in the fort of Bangalore, and had encamped on the plain of Jugni; and that his eye was eagerly directed to his enemies, as to a flock of sheep. The heart of the Mahratta failed him when he heard this, and he marched off, without attaining his object.

The Brahman, Khundi Rao, when the Mahratta

[y] مہر جیبي

moved towards the Barh Mahl had slunk[z] back to Seringaputtun. Hydur Alí, with his victorious troops, now marching by the route of Makri Droog, placed garrisons of his own in that Droog, and at Ootri Droog, Chenraiputtun, Cheenaputtun,[a] &c.; and then proceeded, by the Mooti Talaub, and Churkoli, towards Periaputtun, to meet Nundi Raj.

At this time letters arrived, secretly despatched from the grandmother of the Raja, to the effect that, at this moment, in consequence of the imprudent and selfish views, and enmity of the foolish chiefs or ministers, the power of their ancient house, or family, had become so totally disordered, that most of the seditious and rebellious[b] were waiting opportunities to seize and take possession of the territory and wealth of their state. That in these circumstances if he, Hydur, who was their thrice fortunate (adopted) son, would return, and restore the government to some order, place her unfortunate family in safety and comfort, and encourage and promote the welfare of the country, it would be only consistent with his name and character.

When Hydur became acquainted with the contents of these letters, he seized them as pledges and

[z] خزيد

[a] Also called Muddoor.

[b] ناهنجار

patents,[c] establishing his claim to the supreme authority of the Khodadad, (the name which Hydur Alí gave to the state of Mysore,); and, putting the letters into his pocket, he wrote and forwarded a a conciliatory epistle in reply. From this place he marched straight to visit Nundi Raj, and met him at a fortunate moment, and after having enjoyed their meeting, they began to converse on the villany and ingratitude of the Brahman, upon whom Nundi Raj bestowed a few curses, and then advised how he should be displaced and punished. Hydur therefore immediately got his troops in readiness to attack him, and Nundi Raj, also, placed the force he had with him consisting of two thousand foot, a thousand regular infantry, and seven hundred horse, under Hydur's command for the same purpose.

Khundi Rao, meanwhile, with a body of troops amounting to seven thousand horse, twelve thousand foot, and Manuel the European at the head of eight hundred Chittikars, with ten or twelve guns, was likewise on his march, to attack Hydur; but, although he affected to make Periaputtun his ground of encampment, still, from the fear of the manhood of Hydur's character and the promptitude of his hand and sword against his enemies, he

[c] سنده

trembled day and night; indeed, his fears so prevailed that he could neither eat nor sleep. It happened, too, that in his encampment a horse broke his heel ropes one night, and fell upon another horse, and both began neighing[d] and kicking each other. This creating much alarm in his camp, the men and women within it began to cry out, "the enemy are come! the enemy are come!" and the alarm was so great, that they all fell into such confusion, that some from fright laid hold of their swords, and blindly slew each other, and most of the merchants, having lost their goods in the tumult, struck the hand of grief on the forehead of their bad luck. When, however, the morning dawned, and they could discover nothing of the Kuzzaks of Hydur's army, (the burners of their enemies,) whom they so much feared, they became ashamed of their foolish alarm, and ventured to take a little rest.

Hydur, on the other hand, on hearing of the mischief that had befallen the Brahman's troops, was much comforted, and next day formed the right and left wings of his army, and marched straight to his enemy. The Brahman[e] also put his troops in readiness, and formed them in good position and

[d] صهيل

[e] Zoonnardár, alluding to the Brahminical string.

order; but, nevertheless, the heavy fire of Hydur's guns and musketry at once defeated his force,[f] which was totally dispersed.

Khundi Rao, therefore, mounting a horse, swift as lightning, and wet with the sweat of shame, flew like a hail storm; and, passing through a thousand difficulties and dangers, escaped to Seringaputtun. His cavalry with their horses, and his entire infantry, regular and irregular battalions, with their arms and accoutrements, became, as they were before, the servants of Hydur, the friend of the soldier, and prepared to oppose his enemies. Hydur, (the poor man's friend as he is called,) now marched after the fugitive Brahman, and crossing the river, (Cauvery), by the ford of Choongul, encamped with his troops in the neighbourhood of Manai Mundup, where, having placed his largest guns in one battery, he, for an example, fired a few shot at the Dewaun Khana, or palace, of the Raja, to frighten the inmates of the women's apartments. As soon as the shot struck the Zanana, (women's apartments), a mighty cry arose from them, and the whole of the women, with

[f] Hydur in all his battles seems to have been indebted most to his artillery, (or آتش خانه) and his European and regular infantry under Manuel, Lalli and other French and Portuguese. These officers appear to have done duty with the artillery in time of need, as was the case when Baillie's detachment was defeated, the blowing up of the tumbril being entirely ascribed to Lalli.

great noise and clamour, went to complain to the Raja. Frightened out of his senses at the tumult and wailing of the women, the Raja despatched a messenger to Hydur, to tell him that, from the commencement of the government of his family, and the foundation of the capital, to the present time, no one of their servants had acted as he had done, nor had any one of them presumed to fire guns or muskets at his (the Raja's) house; and he requested Hydur would send orders to his artillery men to desist from such insolence and outrage, and then signify to him, (the Raja), what was his object. In reply to this message, Hydur sent word, that he was the faithful adherent of the Raja, and his government, but that an ungrateful servant, an enemy of his, had sought refuge in the fort; and, therefore, those upon whom rested the responsibility of the defence of the State, had used the presumption and insolence of which the Raja complained; but that, if this man were given up to him, he was the same friend he had ever been.

The Raja, being unable to evade this application, had no remedy, and therefore, after exacting from Hydur the most solemn covenant, that he would not put the Brahman Khundi Rao to death, he placed him under a guard, and sent him to Hydur, and that dispenser of good to the world, having re-

gard to his oath and engagement, instead of impaling or dismembering him, which punishment he richly merited, put him into an iron cage, like an inauspicious crow, and sent him off to Bangalore. Verily, if a man eat salt from the table of his master's benefits; or, if he be cherished by the hand of a generous patron, and ungratefully betray him, or rebel against him; the true avenger of ingratitude, in a short time will cause him to be taken in the net of his own perfidy—*verses,* "To show enmity to a man with a pure breast, is only enmity to one's self," "whoever unsheaths his dagger at a looking glass draws it on himself."

CHAPTER VIII.

An account of the regulation (perhaps capture) of the City of Seringaputtun, with other events of the year 1171. Hijri. A. D. 1757, September 14th.

When Hydur had thus overcome his difficulties in this contest, and had conquered the enemies of the Khodadad, he fulfilled his duty in offering unlimited thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty for his favours; and, on the following day, he sent word to the Raja, that, if it were permitted, he, his servant,[g] would visit his family in the fort. The Raja with great readiness and pleasure, gave orders to the guards, at the gates of the fort, to admit Hydur; and he himself, under pretence of taking the air, mounted his horse and went to meet him. Having arrived at his encampment, he, to obtain his friendship, showered an abundance of gold and jewels on his valiant head, and presented him ornaments such as bracelets, gorget, &c., set with jewels; bade him welcome, and congratulated him on his victory and good fortune; and invited

[g] خیرخواه

him to the fort. Hydur, however, cautious and penetrating, considered that entering the fort in company with the Raja would be an act quite incompatible with the prudence and circumspection indispensable to understanding men; and he, therefore, made an excuse that the day or hour was an unlucky one, and put off his visit to his family, particularly to his son of exalted fortune, (whose valuable existence was in truth the foundation of the Khodadad State,) until the next day. Then, having made a present to the Raja of a number of horses, and valuable cloths or dresses, he sent him off to the fort, and remained during that night where he was. The next morning, however, taking with him a strong body of troops, he entered the fort, and posted confidential men of his own on the gates, posterns, and offices of the fort, and even on the gates of the Raja's Hall of Audience, and his Zanana, he placed his own men. He then went with confidence to meet his family, and enjoyed himself with them in security. Under pretence of transacting some business of his own, he next visited Nundi Raj, and, with the policy and regard to expediency of a conqueror and statesman, having pleased or satisfied him, he took him and his wife, children, relations, and dependents, and placed them in his own house; and, then prostrating him-

self before the throne of the all powerful Dispenser of grace and favour, his drums and trumpets made the city resound to their joyful strains.[h]

In truth, why should he not do so? When he had restored the country of Mysore, already half dead, to new life and vigour! When, many times, purely in supporting this State of Mysore; he, Hydur, had fought with the Mahrattas and other rebels,[i] and by his great courage and individual exertions and abilities, had defeated them, and had himself regained and brought under his powerful hand the country which before had been taken or conquered! When, notwithstanding all his labours and anxiety, the envious and short sighted conspired by vain arts to overthrow the house and fortune of that brave soldier; turned the mind of the foolish Raja against him, excited a tumult to his prejudice; and when all the hardships, and travail, he had suffered in the protection of the country was about to be gratuitously thrown away and scattered to the winds by the designs of his enemies. Then it was, therefore, that God withdrew him from the anxiety and perplexity of plans and schemes for the defence of the country

[h] The Nobut and Nagara of the Mussulmans are very musical.

[i] These modest gentlemen the Mussulmans apply the term rebel to all their enemies.

against its enemies; kept him in a place of security, made him a king[k] in territory and power; and, still more, placed him beyond the stormy sea of worldly interest on the shore of safety, and made him the grateful returner[l] of praises and thanksgivings to God for the great benefits he had received. *Verses.* "No man can obtain a crown without courage."— "Those who aim at exaltation, must waste by the head like a taper."[m]

But, to return,—for some days and nights Hydur occupied himself in regulating the broken down fortunes of the Mysore state, in discharging the disaffected, the envious, and the seditious; in levying fines on the corrupt and cowardly civil servants, and removing the dishonest; and in collecting troops, stores, &c., necessary for the commander of an army; and, finally, having administered justice to all, he attracted the hearts of the people, far and near, by his liberality, his favour, his kindness, and his affability, and thereby gained great fame. Indeed, he undertook no measure without the deepest consideration, grounded on his accurate

[k] طرف دار A prince or a Jagiredár.

[l] The author has placed here مشکور for شاکر or the participle passive for the agent.

[m] None without valour ever won a crown!
The man that purposes to tread
The path which leads to empire or renown
Must waste, like tapers, by the head.

perception of the best policy. His fortunate son, (Tippoo), was now placed under the best masters, who laboured to instruct him in all kinds of learning. The dependencies of Mysore, which are like a flower garden, now received anew the freshness and colour of security, and the hearts of those who were envious of the prosperity of the country and government became like the flowers of a garden in autumn, faded and dead. Most of the dependencies on the frontier, which had been lost to this state from the incapacity of former ministers and chiefs, by the exertions and abilities of Hydur, that Rustum in disposition, were regained by his powerful and grasping hand; and now able men of various tribes and nations, artificers of all countries, and soldiers who, from the want of employment and the neglect of merit by the former rulers of Mysore, had been hiding in corners, like a sword in its sheath; at length had the rust and dirt rubbed off the face of their condition, by the furbisher of appreciation, and, by the aid of their good fortune, like the spear, carried their heads high, and presented themselves erect to Hydur, who employed them in service proportionate to their abilities and merit. According to the desire of that cherisher of the people, merchants, also, brought precious commodities from every part of the world, with valuable horses, and

camels, and, in addition to the prices they demanded for their goods, they received handsome presents; many thousands of pounds being expended on the security of the servants of the state for commissioning articles of rarity, and soldiers of approved valour, from different parts of the world. In fact, in performing the duty committed to his charge, every one strove with all his heart to ensure its accomplishment. In truth, whenever the only true Lord desires to make one of his slaves worthy of the government of a country, and fit to be the cherisher and defender of the poor, and to provide for and support his subjects, he makes his person the object of the regard of high and low, and his actions the profit and benefit of the world. *Verse.* "Good fortune comes not by chance as they say it does."[n]

But, to continue, although the ungrateful Brahman had received the reward of his actions, and the root of mischief and rebellion in the country of Mysore had been plucked up, still, to the southward of Seringaputtun, or rather in the country of the Payeen Ghaut, that is to say Koimbatore &c., where the vile Brahman had sent one of his own relations, to govern, disorders continued to prevail. This

[n] Never, (as some have idly thought)
Was yet by chance good fortune wrought.

base born fellow, as soon as he heard of the fate of his principal, having associated with him a number of Naimars and seditious persons, created a great disturbance. To suppress this revolt, and punish him, Hydur dispatched two hundred horse, two risalas, or regiments of regular infantry, and a thousand irregular foot, under the command of Syud Ismail, his brother in law, accompanied by Surdár Khan, a very brave man.

As soon as the Sikkah[o] in the name of the fortunate Hydur, by God's gift became current, and all things meet for kingly power and state were taken possession of by him, such as the treasury, gold, and jewels, the artillery and military stores, Mukhdoom Sáhib was appointed to the command of the fort of Seringaputtun ; and, agreeably to the request of the family of the reigning Raja, Nundi Raj, and others, the customary allowances to them were confirmed, and the Killadár was constituted the Raja's steward or purveyor. Hydur himself, also, on a certain day, and at a fortunate hour, visited the women's apartments of the Raja and Nundi Raj, and, after consoling them, and assuring the Raja of his care of his country[p] and authority, he himself presented each of them (name by name), with trays of dresses, or valuable cloths, and gold

[o] Impression on the coin.

[p] طرفداري

and jewels, and then returned home to enjoy himself. Some of the Poligars of the frontier, as the Koorg Raja, &c. who had previously placed the cotton of forgetfulness in the ears of their understanding, seeing and fearing the strength and good fortune of Hydur, now submitted to him.

After having regulated the affairs of the capital, Hydur marched, with a body of his troops, to Bangalore, to pay the sum of money he had borrowed or taken up from the bankers of that place, and returned highly gratified when he had repaid them. In the meanwhile, Ismail Sáhib and Surdár Khan had finished their operations, and, having taken prisoners the relations of the Brahman Khundi Rao, they returned to the Presence.

About this time, Budr uz Zumán Khan Nayut, arrived from the vicinity of Runjungurh, with the intention to enter into Hydur's service; and, as Hydur well knew both his father and grandfather he esteemed his arrival a very fortunate occurrence, and engaged him as Bukhshi to the regular infantry Kutchuri, at five hundred rupees a month. About this period, also, Hydur received information that the Poligar of little Balapoor, vain of his troops and his wealth, had raised the head of conceit to the clouds of folly, that he had allured most of the peasantry of the districts of Mysore to his territory,

by giving them advances in money; that it was certain he entertained no fear of Hydur's lion like troops; that without coercion he would never be rendered tributary or obedient; and that advice and instruction were lost on him. Hydur, the dispenser of Justice, therefore, on hearing this, determined to go himself and root him out, and began to collect troops and stores for that purpose.

CHAPTER IX.

The march of Busálut Jung, to take possession of the Souba of Sura, and his conquest of that Souba, by the aid of Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr. Also, the transfer of the Sura to the hands of the prudent Hydur, in the same year, 1171 Hijri.—A. D. 1757.

After the decease of Sulábut Jung, in the year 1166, H., Nizám Alí Khan, Assud Jung, collected a large force to attack the Mahrattas; and, at the time Ballajee Rao Nana, with all his forces and chiefs, had marched to reduce the province of Khandeish, finding the coast clear, he by long marches reached Poona, which he plundered and burned; he moreover destroyed all the temples, killing cows in them, and then returned. The Mahrattas, however, as soon as they heard this intelligence, followed Assud Jung by forced marches, and overtook and surrounded him at the town of Humnabad, where they gave him such a defeat that, in the twinkling of an eye, destruction fell on the whole of the force of the Moghuls, and, abandoning all his baggage, and artillery, Assud Jung sought refuge in the fort above mentioned, and was besieged there; his Ameers of old standing being

some taken prisoners, but mostly slain. At length however, his affairs being remediless, Assud Jung entered into a negotiation with the Mahrattas, and by the advice of Pothail Das, his Dewaun, or minister, gave up a country producing a revenue of seventy Lakhs of Rupees; also two cities, the capitals of the Sultans of the Dukhun, viz. Burhanpoor and Bejapoor besides Ahmud Nuggur, Dowlutabad, and the Souba of Sura. He then returned to Golconda, and the whole of this territory remained in the hands of the Mahrattas at the time when their mighty army was defeated and destroyed by the Serabdalli,[q] near Gunjpoor, depending on Paniput Kurnal, and Ballajee Rao, from excessive grief at his great loss, died. Seizing the favourable opportunity thus offered, Meer Shureef Alí Khan, Busálut Jung, the governor of Adhooni, determined with his troops and artillery to reduce or recover the Souba of Sura; and, with the assistance of Morar Rao, the Chief of Gootti, and the Chief of Kurpa, he marched to Huskote, (called by Wilks Ooscottu), which is a fort and Purgana depending on Sura, garrisoned by a detachment of Poona Mahrattas, and immediately laid siege to it. Mokhund Sriput, who commanded there, was a brave man, and, having strengthened the works of the fort, he defended it so gallantly that

[q] Afghans.

Busálut Jung of himself, with his large force, was obliged to send to Hydur Alí Khan for assistance.

Hydur, who was then at Bangalore, occupied in the chastisement of Sami Koora, the refractory Poligar of little[r] Balapoor, and also in the regulation and improvement of his troops, seeing in this application an opportunity of extending his authority, immediately accepted it, and joined Busálut Jung, but, although the latter invited him to pay him a visit, and actually prepared to receive him, he declined, and sent word to him, that first, he must be informed what service he was expected to perform, and that, having obediently executed his commands and obtained credit for the performance of them, he would then pay him a visit. Busálut Jung replied, by requesting him to attack and take the fort. Accordingly, on the next day, the experienced Hydur proceeded round the fort, to reconnoitre and examine the nature of the ground. He then attacked the Town, which is to the eastward of the fort, and took it at the first assault; and, having raised his batteries there, gave orders to his artillery to fire at the walls of the fort as at a mark; and they soon drilled them as full of holes as a bird cage. At the time, however, when he commenced the fire of his artillery, he wrote to Busálut Jung, that

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he was about to fire at the fort, and recommended him to take care of himself; and his (Hydur's) artillery men, agreeably to his orders, fired a few shot from heavy guns in the direction of the Moghul camp, which was about a fursung to the westward of the forts, merely to give them an example of what he could do. The Moghuls were not prepared for this, and fell into much confusion, and Busálut Jung, changed his ground of encampment to another beyond a tank, northward of the fort.

But, to return,—Hydur continued for two or three days firing, and battering the walls. On the fourth day, he sent a message to those in the fort, that he was a fortunate soldier, and if they cared at all for their lives, and fortunes, and wished still to enjoy them, that they must quit the fort, and they should then, without molestation from any one, proceed with their property where they liked,—that if not, he would storm the fort, and in that case the garrison with their wives and children should be put to the sword. The Killadár, however, after many difficulties and objections, having been at length assured and satisfied, thought it best to submit peaceably to the fortune of the Khodadad, and delivered up his fort to Hydur, who placed a garrison of his own in it, gave the Killadár his life and property, to gratify him provided carriage for his

baggage as he required, and, with the consent and advice of Busálut Jung, sent him to Poona.

The next day, Hydur wrote to Busálut Jung, that it was necesary he should send a garrison into the fort, that he might withdraw his. The prudent Busálut Jung, however, thought proper, from convenience, or policy, to leave the fort with its dependencies to the charge of Hydur, and marched on towards Sura. In two or three days, Hydur had made all his arrangements for the charge of the fortress, and then marched, with his victorious troops and artillery, by regular stages, to the environs of Balapoor the greater, where he encamped. The governor of the town, Abbas Kuli Khan, the son of Durgah, Kuli Khan, recollecting his cruel treatment of Hydur in former time, and fearing retribution, fled with his women and indispensable baggage to Arkat. Hydur, therefore, on hearing this, sent a garrison of his own troops into the fort, and then marched and joined Busálut Jung, the advanced guard of whose army he selected as his post. Still, however, no meeting or visit had passed between them, nor had they ever spoken to each other, except through a medium. When they arrived near Sura, Hydur encamped nigh the Eed Gah, to the westward of the fort, and the Moghul troops took up their position on a Tank, to the eastward of the fort, which they sur-

rounded. Batteries were now thrown up, and approaches dug and carried on, and a sharp fire, and the explosion of mines, were kept up continually.

As the operations against this fort, also, were committed to the experience of Hydur, by degrees the town was taken; and batteries being raised, and heavy cannon mounted thereon, the walls of the fort and the citadel were breached, and from the constant fire of the guns, the shock or concussion of which broke the hearts of the besieged, the walls were completely knocked down. But, notwithstanding all this, Trimuk Kishen, the Chief of the Souba, did not lose heart, but for a month continued valiantly to perform his duty as Killadár. At length, however, the walls being levelled with the ground, and being apprehensive of an assault by Hydur's brave troops, he thought it best, for his advantage, to seek Hydur's protection, and therefore requested that his and his garrison's lives might be spared, and that he might receive Kowl, or an assurance to that effect. Hydur, whose fortune was ever alert, kindly despatched to him assurances of safety, and sent for him, and then placed a garrison of his own in the fort. The depôt of provisions and military stores, which the Mahrattas had collected for the conquest of the Karnatic Balaghaut and Payeen Ghaut, and had

deposited in this fort, were all seized by him and applied to his own use ; and, without any delay, or the knowledge of any one, he buried under ground all the heavy artillery, and such stores as he wished to reserve for himself, and throwing out four or five pieces of artillery damaged and split at the muzzles with a parcel of old and useless stores, he sent a letter with his congratulations, (Mobarikbadi), on the capture of the place, to Busálut Jung.

The next day, Busálut Jung mounted his horse, and came to the fort to inspect it, and the large magazine of military stores, guns, &c. which the Mahrattas were said to have kept here, and of which he had heard so much, from his spies ; the experienced Hydur first met him outside the fort, and then accompanying him inside, and having wheedled and talked him over with fool-deceiving words, he presented him with the keys of the fort, and showed him, one by one, the articles he had allowed to remain.[s] However, after having inspected them all, Busálut Jung took only three large guns, which had belonged to the body guard of the murdered Nawaub Násir Jung, and sent them to his camp, and then giving the remaining stores and keys and the regulation of the Fort and Souba to Hydur, he returned to his tents.

[s] The author of another life of Hydur, states that Hydur bullied Busálut Jung into the surrender of the fort and stores.

Some three or four days after this, being the day Busálut Jung had appointed for his march to Adhooni, he sent for Hydur, and saluted him with the title of Nawaub Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr Chuckmak[t] Jung, and also wrote and presented him Sunnuds, conferring on him the revenues of the entire Souba of Sura, with the Paishkush or tribute of the Poligars; he also added the district of Gurm Koonda, with its fort and dependencies saying to him spontaneously "you are the Chief of all this country; and the creator and bestower of life,[u] has raised you into existence on purpose to protect his creatures; may you be fortunate and happy in the possession of this country."[x] In short, after an interchange of the usual congratulations, the wise Busálut Jung quitted the Nawaub Bahadúr, and, with a large sum of money, horses and elephants, presented by Hydur, he and his whole army returned to Adhooni; and as he was not able to take the guns before mentioned with his army, he left two on a river to the northward of the fort. One gun however, which had belonged to the Julow or body guard of the Nawaub, Nizám al Moolk, Asof Jah, he, with

[t] Chuckmak is the name given by our Sipahees to the flint and steel of the musket.—*Turkish.*—Busálut Jung knew well to whom Hydur owed his fame although he himself had not the candour to acknowledge it.

[u] محق

[x] I should think this speech more than doubtful.

a thousand difficulties, contrived to carry with him. It is not to be concealed, that, at the time Busálut Jung conferred on Hydur the titles which have been mentioned, Hydur, from a wish not to displease him was silent; but, after Busálut Jung had departed, he rejected the title of Jung, and styled himself Nawaub Bahadúr. In short, the Nawaub remained in the fort, ten or fifteen days, and having encouraged and assured the peasantry he appointed Meer Ismael Hussein to the charge of the Souba, giving him strict orders to repair the fort, and then returned to his tents.

CHAPTER X.

The march of Hydur and his army to Chuk or little Balapoor, and the capture of that place. Also the conquest of the Hill fort of Murg Sura, or the little Sura of Pankoonda, &c. in the year 1172, Hijri.—A. D. 1758.

As soon as the Nawaub[y] had accomplished the conquest and regulation of Sura, he determined to attack Balapoor the less, which it had been his intention to have done long before; and he therefore marched towards that place with his whole force, consisting of eight thousand horse, ten thousand regular infantry, and twelve thousand irregular or Karnatic foot, with abundance of stores and artillery. While Hydur was on his route thither, Fyzullah Khan Hybut Jung, who was the son of Meer Mahummudi Khan, Jageerdár of Timri, and the son-in-law of Nawaub Dilawar Khan, having quarrelled with his father-in-law, after the death of his wife, hastened, (making use of his head for his feet)[z] to the service of the Nawaub Hydur, and was

[y] Hydur although raised to the dignity of Nawaub was never considered a gentleman by the polished part of the population of northern India.

[z] قدم از سر ساختن

installed in office, according to his abilities and rank. When the Nawaub arrived, and encamped near Balapoor, the Poligar of that place, finding himself unable to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the fort; and, notwithstanding the Nawaub took great pains to induce him to obey his orders, this unfortunate man rejected all his advances, and prepared to defend himself; he also solicited Morar Rao Ghore Purria to give him assistance. The Rao, therefore, with his whole force, amounting to twelve thousand horse and foot, came to his aid, and, having established himself at Goori Bundah, (some place apparently in the vicinity), he made it his station, and despatched six or seven thousand horse, to attack the army of the Nawaub. This force, however, only fell upon and plundered the foraging parties of the Nawaub, and then retired. When he heard of this attack the Nawaub was much irritated, and with a detachment of his bravest soldiers, he immediately followed and tracked the route of the Mahrattas, and on a plain to the westward of Nundi Gurh, he fell in with them, and, at the first charge defeated them, and put most of them to the sword; the few who escaped with their lives leaving their horses and arms behind them. Near two thousand horses were taken, on this occasion, by the troops of the Nawaub. Returning victorious, Hy-

dur now fixed his attention solely on the reduction of the fort. By his orders, the troops attacked and took the Peenth or suburbs, and, raising batteries there, employed themselves in firing at the walls, and exploding mines.[a] Meanwhile, although the Rao had, ordered his troops to ravage and desolate the dependencies of the Sirkar (Hydur's) and the Kuzzaks of his army, day by day, continued to destroy the towns and villages of the Khodadad State, still they did not attempt to attack Hydur's troops in the field. The Nawaub was kept constantly informed of these losses; but, considering that his present object was the fort, and that afterwards at his leisure he could punish the Mahrattas, for their excesses, he affected to take no more notice of them than as if he had never seen or heard of them, devoting his whole time and exertions to ensure the capture of the fort. After a short time, therefore, the walls of the fort, which were of earth, were completely battered down and breached on one side, and the Nawaub consequently gave orders for the assault. Yet notwithstanding the state of the walls, and other disadvantages, the besieged fought so bravely in the breach, that they beat off the storming party, and put them to flight. The next day another storming party tried their luck,

[a] منجنيق پراني perhaps throwing shells into the town.

but without success. The Nawaub was now obliged to have recourse to his ingenuity to take the place, and therefore, with great labour, raised a new stage or battery,[b] in front of the gate of the fort, and gave orders to batter the gate. In the course of one or two days, his experienced gunners beat down the two walls which masked the gate; and, as soon as the besieged Poligar found that the defences of the gate were battered down, he began to reflect on the probable result; and, through the medium of the bankers and the obedient Poligars who attended the camp of the Nawaub, he forwarded proposals for an accommodation, and requested the lives of the garrison might be spared. After a great deal of discussion, the Nawaub considering him with the eye of kindness, consented to receive from him a Nuzzur or Paishkush of seven Lakhs of Rupees, and desist from the prosecution of the siege. In compliance also with the Poligar's request, it was settled, that Hydur with his troops and artillery should return by the route of Dewun Hully, (called by Wilks Deonelly), and Bangalore, to Seringaputtun, and that the amount of tribute being divided into three Kists, or payments; one was to be paid at Dewun Hully, another at Bangalore, and the last at the capital. His march therefore was conducted

[b] مرحله

agreeably to the prescribed route; the Nawaub, however, with his usual caution, left in the batteries and suburbs a thousand matchlock men, under the command of Juhan Khan Khokur[c] and Hussein Khan Lodi, until the payments were made; and he also left seven or eight boxes of ammunition in their charge.

The Rao, on hearing of this accommodation immediately made a forced march during the night, arrived in the rear of the fort, and apprized the Poligar of his arrival. Overjoyed at this intelligence, the foolish man left the fort immediately; and the two traitors met, and consulted how they should deceive the Nawaub. The Rao having, with flattery and deceiving words, allured the Poligar from the way of his own welfare, drew him into the net of his wiles, and said, "you see the walls of the fort are battered down, and that most of the poor inhabitants, and soldiers, have been destroyed by the fire of the guns. It is not fit, therefore, that you should now stay here; but that you with your family, treasury, gold, jewels, &c. should depart from hence, and take up your residence at the hill fort of Nundi; and the money, which you have collected to pay to the Nawaub, pay to me, and with that same money, I will collect a body of troops, and

[c] Tribesof Afghans well known in India.

moreover obtain large armies to your aid from Hydurabad and Poona, and thus he, Hydur, shall have his due punishment." The period of the Poligar's ruin being at hand, he gave the selfish words of the Rao a place in his willing ear, and acted accordingly; for, having four or five Lakhs of Rupees ready to pay the dividends to the Nawaub, he gave them to the Rao, and left the fort also to his care, and retired to the Hill Nundi.

The Rao now posted in the ruined fort two thousand foot, with ammunition, as a garrison and then returned to his own station. On the following morning, the garrison manned the walls, beat their drums, and sounded their trumpets, in the Mahratta style, and then assembled suddenly in great numbers at the gate. Seeing these movements and apprehending treachery from them, the Nawaub's detachment manned their batteries, and were standing ready for action, when, all at once, fifteen hundred of the Mahrattas left the fort, and advanced rapidly to attack them. The Nawaub's men being few, and they also scattered, or detached, they left the battery, and assembled in the Peenth, or suburb, and, having made one gate strong, they remained quiet. The troops from the fort now formed a circle round them, and commenced a brisk fire of musketry and rockets. The officers of the Na-

waub's infantry, nevertheless did not lose heart, but determined to sell their lives dearly; and they therefore strengthened a large building at the gateway, and defended it gallantly, while the Khokur, (Afghan), with a few brave fellows, made an attack on the unlucky Mahrattas, and with the sword and spear killed a great many of them. Some of the garrison of the fort also were taken prisoners by stratagem, and from them they learned the state of affairs in the fort, as has been before related. The officer above mentioned on the next night, despatched, therefore, the prisoners to Hydur, with a letter, stating what had occurred by the treachery and misconduct of the ill fated Poligar, and then waited for succour.

On his receiving this letter, and hearing the statement of the prisoners, Hydur became as furious as an enraged lion, and with his troops and artillery made a forced march[d] back from Dewun Hully, and arrived at the fort, round which the cavalry of the Rao were stationed, and they being attacked received such a defeat from Hydur's Bedes or Kuzzaks that they fled and never looked behind them until they arrived at Goori Bundah. Perceiving the advantage which Hydur had gained, his officers who were on the alert in the Peenth or suburb,

[d] ایلغار

immediately hoisted his standard on the gate and beat their drums. The Nawaub on seeing this was highly pleased, and, having entered the suburb, he occupied the same batteries he had before raised, and ordered his artillery and infantry to give the fort a shower of shot. Hydur remained only two days before the fort, when he assaulted and took it, and directed some of the men belonging to the artful Rao to be put to death, and, for an example, some had their noses and ears cut off, and were sent bleeding to join their comrades with the Rao. Alí Ruza Khan was then appointed to command the fort; and having given him strict charge to take the hill fort of Nundi, and the unfortunate Poligar, Hydur marched off to Goori Bundah, with his victorious army, to attack Morar Rao. The Rao, however, finding himself unequal to contend with Hydur, marched to Goori Koonda, a place in his own possession. The Nawaub Bahadúr after a siege of two or three days, reduced Goori Bundah, and, leaving a detachment there, he moved on.

When Hydur arrived near Goori Koondah, the Rao mounted his horse, and with his cavalry, infantry and artillery, took post ready to receive him.— The Nawaub having placed his regular and irregular infantry and artillery in ambush, in the dry bed of a river, now ordered off all his light horse to the

front, to attack the Rao's troops, but when the Rao's cavalry attempted to charge them in a compact[e] body, Hydur's horse, before the enemy came near turned their backs and fled at speed. The Rao's horse, who were rendered very bold by this flight, followed them, and while they were in pursuit, all at once, the troops in ambush rose up, and received them with such a volley of cannon, and musketry, that to this day their loss remains inscribed on the page of time; for the troops of the Rao were scattered like grain shaken out of a slit bag, and they did not drink water until they arrived at the walls of Gooti. The Rao also fled his own way. Hydur, victorious, advanced; and, after a siege of seven days, took Goori Koondah, and from that place marched towards Pen Koondah, where also the Rao had a garrison. He first, however, took and fortified the Ghauts, or passes, and then, by successive assaults on the hill fort, in a month took it, after which he proceeded to attack the hill fort of Murg Sura. The commandant of that fort, who was a brave man, prepared however to oppose him, and on his approach, by the continual fire of his guns and musketry, he killed a great many of the Nawaub's troops. The Nawaub being in great anger at this, gave orders to his officers for

[e] صفهازده

the immediate investment of the fort, and, under the cover of the rocks to make an assault, while he himself took his station on a hill to the northward of the fort, but adjoining to that on which it stood; and, having mounted some large guns on that hill, he sent to the Killadár a Kowl Nama, or a summons and terms for his surrender. The terms not being accepted, Hydur, who was much annoyed gave orders to the marksmen among his artillerymen to fire at a particular part of the rocks, which rose above the middle of the mountain, and beneath which stood the houses and buildings of the fort, full of inhabitants; and, as these rocks were knocked to pieces by the cannon balls, the fragments killed a number of the besieged, and scattered the rest so effectually that the garrison of the fort lost the power[f] of defence. Seeing his soldiers in this inefficient state, the Killadár became alarmed, and after begging their lives might be spared, he gave over the fort to the servants of the Nawaub, and himself, seeking Hydur's protection, was allowed his life and property.

Meer Alí Ruza Khan who, meanwhile, was besieging the hill of Nundi, by exerting the greatest skill and bravery, reduced the besieged to such extremities, that being in all respects without resources, the

[f] تاب

Poligar surrendered it to the Meer, and sought the asylum of the Khodadad. The Meer, agreeably to Hydur's orders, despatched the captive Poligar, and his family to Bangalore; and of his sons two were made Mussulmans. One of them died, but the other, named Sufdur Khan, is now living, and with his troops was received into the Nawaub's service.

Budruzzuman Khan was appointed governor of the newly captured fort.

When the dependencies of that country, which, in truth, may be likened to the Garden of Eden, fell into the powerful hands of the Nawaub, he rubbed the forehead of his hopes on the threshold of the Creator of the Universe, pure from wants or desires; and, this being done, appointed and despatched intelligent agents, and faithful and able Killadárs, to the different parts of the country. The Nawaub himself halted some days at Sura, to make arrangements for the government of that district.

CHAPTER XI.

An account of the conquest of Bednore, otherwise called Hydur Nugger, and other forts and towns of that country, in the year 1173, Hijri. A. D. 1759.

As the knowledge of the good or bad state of different countries, and the hearing of intelligence describing the policy and ability of both friend and foe, form the rule of conduct of the sovereigns of the field of empire, and guide the actions or measures of the conquerors of the world; it was the constant custom of the Nawaub Hydur to receive daily news from all districts of his own kingdom, far and near, and from the dependencies of friend and stranger; and every night, after making himself well acquainted with the details of the state of all countries, as the government of the Zemindárs, and Rajas; that of the Nizám[g] of the Dukhun, the Nazim[h] of Poona, the Soubadar of the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, &c.; he retired to his private apartments, to take his rest. For the performance of this arduous

[g] اسم مبالغه [h] اسم فاعل from the root نظم

but indispensable duty, which required so much care and caution, intelligencers of talent, and Kasids, or messengers, who from head to foot were eyes and ears; able spies; secret writers, unequalled in the age, and correspondents quick of hand, and of great understanding; were stationed in every quarter of the country, and by these men correct accounts of all occurrences were written and forwarded daily. It happened at this time, that they all wrote respecting the country of Nuggur, describing that, from its beauty and verdure, it bestowed splendour on the Balaghaut country, nay, that it might be said to be equal to the Gardens of Paradise.—*Verse.*[i] "If any one burned with grief enters Nuggur,[k] were he even as a bird roasting on the spit, he would regain his wings and feathers."[l]—In fact, that the fertility of the country was the envy of Kashmeer, for on it depended many cities, pleasant and rich, and its beautiful fields and meadows gave delight to the heart of the beholder; that moderate rains fell there for six months in every year, which gave life and verdure to the hearts of the withered vegetation and the ani-

[i] The following is called Insha Tirazi, انشا طرازي

[k] One copy says Bednore.

[l] If, burnt up with grief, into Nuggur you enter,
Though as bad as a bird's on the spit be your plight,
In that beautiful country, of pleasure the centre,
Your wings and your feathers you'll renovate quite.

mal creation; that the trees of the forest and gardens were mostly cocoa nut, and date, like the stature of the lovely, with their heads erect; that the fruit trees, were of all kinds, laden with their pleasure-giving store, and the sandal trees, filled the hearts and palates of men of all countries with fragrance; that the perfume of the flowers and sweet smelling herbs, and the early fruits of the country soothed the sickly and gave rest to the unquiet soul;—that, the rosy cheeked and moon faced damsels there with forms straight as the poplar, like a rose garden, ever flourishing, adorned with the colour and perfume of loveliness, practised stealing the heart, while speciously delighting the eye; and clothing their slender forms in elegant apparel, with their subduing smiles and glances conquer and enslave amorous young men; that, the rivers and streams of that flowery and ever blooming country are like the sea, ever flowing, and the lakes and reservoirs ever full to the brim, like the fountains of a generous heart; that, the inhabitants of all classes in that country lived freely, and were wealthy; but that they had, always kept their eyes on the path of the brave man of the field of battle, that is, they had looked anxiously for the conquest of their country by some just and distinguished chief,[m] for this reason

[m] Meaning Hydur.

that that delightful country had fallen into the hands of a wild race, and a low minded fearless woman wearing the dress of a man, exercised unlimited authority there; that, in former times, this district or province was under the authority of the Soubas or governors of Sura, but that, at present, having rebelled, the ruler had neglected to forward the Paishkush or tribute, and, notwithstanding the successors of her former governors still existed, the Rani was ambitious of being independent, and had lately formed an illicit connexion with a slave, and the country, with all its fertility and riches, like the eyes of the blind, had become totally deprived of light, while the hearts of the people, by the tyranny and oppression of the dissolute Rani, were sorely afflicted; that, the sounds of complaint and grief were heard in every street and market; that on all sides, thieves and robbers laid hold on the property of the poor; that the men were ashamed of obeying their ruler, and had shut themselves up in their houses, and the women, licentious, fearless, and drunk with the wine of immodesty, ornamenting their hair, and (painting) their faces, gave themselves up to sensuality, and the men had no power to correct or reprove, even the women of their own families; and that, they gave themselves up to dalliance in the open streets, and markets,

and walked about in eager expectation of their lovers.[n]

Truly, if rulers noted for want of sense be appointed to govern and protect a country, what hopes of comfort or safety can be entertained by their subjects. It appeared, therefore, improper that the government of such a fine province should be held by such a person, and that a bad woman should govern so beautiful and fertile a country was unreasonable; besides this, she had rebelled against the government.[o] There was a man, (it was said,) a descendent of the chiefs of that country; but he was void of sense and intelligence,—for, notwithstanding he had laboured and schemed much, in the hope to obtain the chief authority, he could effect nothing; and it was, therefore, evident how proper and likely a man he was to be qualified for government, who was more ignorant and incompetent than the Rani herself. Did he not know the noble master, (Hydur), to whom this fine extensive country and high office should fall?

In short, on hearing these joyous tidings, the fortunate Nawaub immediately despatched search-

[n] Some punning verses on the word زن omitted.

[o] All this rigmarole is intended to prove that Hydur Alí had a right to dispossess the unfortunate Rani of her territory and wealth, and perhaps to take her life.

ing spies and able intelligencers on this business with orders to collect correct information respecting the government of Nuggur; the abilities of those who conducted it; the amount of the revenue, the number of the troops; and to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with these matters, and write a full and distinct account of them. He then marched with a strong force towards Chitul Droog, and, from policy, and to make an impression, he gave orders to take, plunder, and destroy, the dependencies of that place. His fearless Kuzzaks, in consequence, immediately spread themselves over the whole of its Talookas or districts, to the Ghaut of the Droog, and levelled every town and village to the ground. The Nawaub, however, marched straight to the Droog, where the Poligar of that place took the head of submission out of the veil of rebellion, and entered the circle of obedience; and agreeably to the directions of the Nawaub, paid two Lakhs[p] of Rupees, in lieu of Paishkush, and one Lakh of Rupees as a present, and was allowed his life and property, and he and his troops accompanied the army. In the meantime, the spies and intelligencers had proceeded with the greatest speed to Nuggur, and had examined closely the state of that country, and they described the whole in detail

[p] A Lakh is 100,000.

to the Nawaub. About this time, also, the person[q] who was ambitious of obtaining the government of Bednore, and who, as has been already stated, desired an opportunity to establish his claim, had sought refuge in Chitul Droog, and, under the auspicious star of his good fortune, was introduced to the Nawaub. This person promised and engaged, through the medium of the Chief of Chitul Droog, to gird his loins in the service of the Nawaub; and stated that he considered the service of that victorious Chief as an honour to his house; and that he entreated the Nawaub to proceed quickly to the punishment of the Rani, whose government was a display of caprice, and who, like a man, galloped over the field of licence, and extinguish the torch of her immodesty[r] with the water[s] of the sword, and give to the world, (the people of which had their lives on their lips from her oppression, and tyranny,) comfort, consolation, and a new life. Seeing that the appearance of things was conformable to his hopes and wishes; the Nawaub Bahadúr agreed to the prayer of this man; and, having arrayed the right and left wings[t] of his army, the main body,[u]

[q] This person is said by a French author (an officer in Hydur's service) to have been the son of the late Raja or Raṇa of Bednore.

[r] The Rani is always spoken of disrespectfully by this author.

[s] Keenness—temper.

[t] یمین و یسار

[u] قول

and advanced and rear guards,[v] he gave the command of each to brave experienced officers, and, the next morning but one, he marched towards Nuggur, his worthy son of victorious presage acompanying him. At every station and encampment on the march, Hydur, by his affability and presents, raised great hopes among the inhabitants of that country, and, to stimulate the cultivation and prosperity of the land, he gave them every assurance[w] of safety. In every town or fort, also, where his army encamped, he sent for the whole of the poor, and persons without employment, of all classes, and by favours and gifts gained their hearts, and enrolled them among his own servants. Those, however, who left the circle of obedience to his commands, and did not attend to his advice and instructions, but prepared to oppose him, those he endeavoured by all means to make prisoners or destroy. From this cause, fear and trembling came over the people of the country, and the mass of peasantry, civil officers, commandants of forts, &c. through the medium of Hydur's son, (Tippoo,) submitted and offered their obedience, and obtained encouragement in proportion to their merits. When Hydur's troops arrived and encamped two stages on this side Nuggur, the spies, who had been before secretly ordered there, pre-

[v] هراول و چنداول

[w] قول‌نامه

sented themselves, and stated that the Rani was much alarmed and grieved, that she took no rest day or night, and was immersed in deep reflection:—that she had given over all regulation of the affairs of government, and had determined to die; but that she still hoped, by management and deceit, the payment of the Paishkush, and by presenting valuable presents, that she might turn Hydur from his purpose; and, indeed, just at this time, according to the statement of the spies, the Rani did send confidential embassadors with presents, and a supplicatory letter. These Vakeels, after paying their respects to Hydur, presented the articles and rarities intended for gifts, and stated that the Rani would pay a yearly sum of 100,000 Hoons or Pagodas,[x] besides a tribute of other valuable articles, such as Foful,[y] Dates, Sandal wood, Kakul, (a particular kind of wood), black pepper, &c., and that, as long as she lived, she would be submissive to his orders, and pay tribute; and that she hoped the country would be restored to her charge, as a gift from him, so that, under the shade of his protection, she might be safe from all enemies. To this, Hydur returned for answer, that if she desired or hoped for safety, present comfort, tranquillity of

[x] About three and half rupees each.

[y] This tree is like a date tree, perhaps Betel nut.

mind, and the preservation of her honour, she must come without hesitation to the army; and that, then, she might proceed with every comfort to the fort of Seringaputtun, *the asylum and stronghold of modesty and virtue,* where she might reside, and receive from him an allowance proportioned in every respect to her wants.

The Vakeels returned to the Rani with this message, and reported to her the commands of the Nawaub. The Rani, free from restraint, proudly rejected the terms of this proposal; and right or wrong, foolishly prepared to defend herself; with this intent, she intrigued with Abdul Hukeem, Khan of Shanoor, sending a large sum of money to him, and entreating his assistance. Abdul Hukeem agreed to her request, and immediately despatched two thousand horse and four thousand foot, to assist her; and himself with a large force and artillery, advanced and encamped on the river Bala. The troops sent in aid entered, meanwhile, the fort of Nuggur, from the hills and forests surrounding the fort.

As soon as this intelligence reached Hydur, he became violently incensed, and, moving forward, encamped within one stage of Nuggur. Then sending for his officers, he despatched them to take the forts and towns near Nuggur, while he himself, with a body

of his infantry and cavalry, commanded by his bravest officers, marched and invested the fort of Nuggur. The officers Hydur had detached, had, in the meantime, after much fighting, taken and plundered most of the towns and forts, in the neighbourhood, and those who demanded quarter were sent in troops to Hydur. While they were thus engaged, Hydur was employed day and night in the investment of Nuggur; and by raising batteries, and taking up ground by degrees for the attack, he so straightened the field of action on the garrison, that it became small as the eye of a needle; and the garrison, quitting all the places they had fortified outside, retired into the fort, and manned the walls. Although the garrison had in a short time lost the power of defending themselves, their senses being dissipated and though fear for their lives and the honour of their women had taken possession of their hearts, still, in faithful performance of their duty to the Rani, (the writer always affects to speak of this lady with great disrespect) who herself behaved with as much steadiness and courage as a man, they remained stedfast at their posts, and defended themselves bravely. Nay, even although the Nawaub's brave soldiers daily killed troops of them with their cannon, and musket balls, and the sword, and burned numbers of them with the fire of hope-

lessness and despair; still, notwithstanding all this calamity and misery, the garrison continued to fight; they were killed, but not subdued. The Afghan troops, also, with great insolence did their part in aid of the fort and attacked the batteries of the besiegers repeatedly, but were always defeated; and although, in a short time, the besieged saw their field of battle still more straightened, and the field of flight and desertion appeared to them wider than the plain of the day of Judgment, still the siege was so strict and close, that they could not escape with their lives; and, being without resource, they determined that they would fight as long as they were able, and after that, by changing their clothes, try to save themselves, and penetrate to some other country.

When the Nawaub found that the town and forts in the vicinity, the commandants of which were brave men, had been conquered, and that the siege of the fort of Nuggur, defended by a woman, had been protracted to so great a length; also, that the rains, which bring distress upon man and beast, were at hand, and consequently his operations must be soon brought to a close, he, on the day on which the siege had continued one year, gave his troops orders to make the assault; granting them free permission to retain all their plunder,

all articles of gold and silver, and likewise all handsome Hindoo women who might be taken. The cavalry, therefore, quitting their horses, and the infantry stepping out at the charging pace,[z] marched up the breach, firing vollies, and, mounting the walls and bastions, made the air resound with shouts of " take and kill!"[a] Every one who made opposition to them became the butt of the ball and bayonet, and the food of the blood-red sword. When the manlike Rani saw her affairs in this condition, she first set her palace on fire, that is, her ornamented sleeping apartments, which had been built and beautified by her husband, Shoom Shunkur, with Chinese bricks and tiles, washed and set in gold; the interstices being gold, and the doors and walls ornamented with jewels. She next burned most of her boxes of jewellery, or beat them to pieces in an iron mortar; and then, accompanied by only two or three damsels, or slave girls, she escaped on foot by the way of a water drain,[b] with her life only, to Kooli Droog, five kose from Nuggur, a very strong place, surrounded by a thick forest. This place she strengthened still more, and remained there, leaving the whole of the country, treasures, and valuables, of her husband and forefathers to the iron grasp of the renowned Nawaub.

[z] جلادت [a] بکش و بگیر [b] بدرروا ب

As soon as the Nawaub knew that the Rani had escaped, he placed a garrison in the fort of Nuggur and immediately followed her steps, and invested the mountain fort, with every care and caution, and closely besieged it. The siege continued for some time ; but, at length, after a month's resistance, when the garrison had been completely subdued by the bravery of Hydur's troops, they surrendered the hill to the Nawaub, and the Rani being taken was brought to the presence. This being effected, the Nawaub returned to the fort of Nuggur, and put the Rani in prison, and afterwards, placing her in a meeana or palankeen, he despatched her by the route of Sura to Seringaputtun. He then, with the greatest pomp and display of force, and at a fortunate moment, made his entry into the fort of the capital of Bednore, bestowing honour on the seat of Government; and for fifteen days he held a banquet, during which season of festivity he enjoyed the sound of music and the abundance of good things provided for the feast. He then gave to the poor, the religious, the musicians, and dancing women, presents of gold and silver ornaments, valuable cloths, and shawls. Also, to the brave chiefs of his army, and his soldiers, who had distinguished themselves by their gallantry, and had perilled their lives in this conquest, besides what

they obtained in the assault of the fort, which, by Hydur's orders, was what they could take, of heaps of gold and silver, valuable stuffs, jewels, pearls, arms of all kinds, and a great number of beautiful women, the value of all which was sufficient to place them above all wordly wants, to these valiant men he now again gave costly presents and honorary dresses, gold bracelets, pearl necklaces, jewelled gorgets, splendid swords, and lastly, jageers or fiefs (for conditional service), according to their rank and respective capacities. Hydur likewise selected a man of the name of Oojni, a Kolur, an old servant of his, and an intelligent able man, and, having given him the title of Raja Ram, committed the charge of Nuggur to him, giving him orders to repair the fort, and its defences; and, having bestowed on it the name of Hydur Nuggur, he again entered his tents.

CHAPTER XII.

An account of the incursion of the Afghans of Shanoor, who came to the aid of the imprisoned Rani of Bednore, and the punishment of the Chief of Shanoor, by the sharp sword of the Nawaub Bahadúr, with the conquest of other places, occurring in the year 1175, Hijri. A.D. 1761.

During the period the Nawaub was occupied in the siege and assault of Nuggur, the Afghans of Shanoor, who had arrived to the aid of the Rani, were the cause of great annoyance to the troops of Hydur, and even prevented the arrival of their provisions and supplies; in fact, they let slip no opportunity of giving the Nawaub a good deal of trouble; and, although the Bukshi, Hybut Jung, was appointed to oppose them, still, encamping under cover of the forests and hills, they fought his detachments daily, sometimes beating them, and being themselves sometimes beaten. The Nawaub, therefore, after he was freed from the necessary arrangements for the safety of the dependencies of the fort of Nuggur, which was effected in about two years, in person marched straight towards Shanoor.

And on the morning of his arrival, when the Kuzzak horse appeared wheeling round the Afghan army, the Afghans who thought them the horse of Hybut Jung, advanced quickly into the field of ambush to oppose them, like men without discretion or foresight. The Nawaub, therefore, gave orders to the regiments of regular infantry, the horse, foot, and artillery, all which were posted in ambush immediately in front of them, to fire and charge; and accordingly, firing vollies, they rushed upon the Afghans, and most of their men of valour and chiefs of note, were sent to eternity by the showers of cannon and musket-balls in that charge.[c] Having lost their presence of mind, the rest of the Afghans fled, and never drew the breath of courage until they reached the river Bala. Hukeem Khan, the Chief of the Afghans, having also lost his senses, left the whole of the baggage of his army, that is, his tents, standards, drums, camels, elephants, &c., and retired to his capital. The Nawaub, however, followed close on his heels, and appointed his Kuzzaks, (predatory horse) to pursue him from the field of battle to the gates of the fort; and they took many of his cavalry and their horses, nor did they draw back their hands from the discomfiture of their enemies. The Khan of Shanoor, being thus com-

[c] Toorki چپقلش

pletely humbled, attempted no further opposition; but, taking the road of safety, made peace by paying a krore of rupees—*verse.*[d] "Who did (evil), who did not find (retribution)?"[e]

In place, however, of the sum demanded, the Khan gave up elephants, camels, tents of velvet, bechobas embroidered with gold, (a kind of tent without a pole,) Boorhanpoor cloths, of great value, arms of costly price, and a sum of money. These articles the chiefs of former times had accumulated at the expense of hundreds of thousands of pounds; but all these articles were at once given up, and then he was released from the violence of Hydur's brave soldiers.

When the Nawaub had completed his arrangements here, he placed garrisons in the forts of Bangalore, Chenolee, Hurnee, &c., and then returned victorious to Nuggur; and from that place despatched Hybut Jung, with a large force, towards Hurpun Hully, Kunakgiri, &c., to reduce the Poligars of the Suba of Sura, and to collect the amount due for the customary tribute or Paishkush; there being due, also, from every Poligar, besides the Paishkush, one-tenth for the horse-shoeing of

[d] که کرد که نیافت

[e] What man e'er yet performed a guilty deed,
But righteous retribution was his meed?

the Foujdári.[f] Hydur himself, at the same time, crossed the Ghauts to the westward of Nuggur, to reduce the forts and country on the sea-side depending on that state; and Mirza Husseini Beg, his brother-in-law, the maternal uncle of Kureem Sahib, the Nawaub's youngest son, was sent with a detachment to reduce Buswa Rai Droog.

As soon as he obtained his audience of leave, the Mirza marched to the sea-side, and, having seized some fishermen's boats, embarked with his followers, and sailed towards the Droog, which lies about two fursungs (nine or ten miles) distant from the shore, and is surrounded by salt water. When they arrived there, he with his troops encompassed the hill, and despatched a message to the garrison, informing them of the capture and plunder of the town of Nuggur, and the captivity of the Rani; sending also a separate Kowl Nama from himself. The garrison losing heart (at this intelligence), after three days, surrendered without resistance. Having placed a strong garrison on the hill, the Mirza returned with the whole of the property of Shoom Shunker, the Raja of Nuggur, deposited there for safety, which consisted of two or three boxes of pearls and diamonds, two boxes of jewelry, two elephant housings, richly embroidered and curiously

[f] One-tenth of the tribute? حق سعي

wrought in gold and silver, a jewelled chain for the foot of an elephant, two sets of gold and silver bells for the necks of the royal elephants, and two gold embroidered saddles. These, on his return, he presented to the Nawaub, and was highly complimented by him.

The Nawaub himself, having in a very short time settled and regulated that part of the country, and having placed strong garrisons in the forts of Mirjan and Angola, (which are on the boundary of the Kokun Ghauts, and were built by Syfe ul Moolk, the governor of the Kokun, an ameer of the Adil Shahi dynasty,) also in Gorial Bunder (Mangalore) Sudasheo Gurh, Mykuni, Moleer, Honawur, Pykul, &c., returned to Seringaputtun.

When Hybut Jung, with a large body of troops, had taken leave of the Nawaub, he marched to Kunakgiri, and having realized there three years' Paishkush, or two Lakhs of rupees, he next proceeded to Hurpun Hully, and, by fair and foul means, made the Poligar of that place pay three Lakhs of rupees. He then marched to Chitul Droog, and obtained four Lakhs of rupees Paishkush from the Poligar, and, marching thence by Jureemli and Goori Kota, arrived at Rai Droog, from the Chief of which he demanded the tribute. In his reply, the Chief pleaded poverty, and described the devastated condition of his country, and

delayed payment of the tribute under different pretexts. It is not, however, to be suppressed, that the Poligar of Bellari had made an excursion into his territory, and had plundered and laid it waste. Hybut Jung however, for an example, besieged the little fort of Kanikul, depending on the Droog, and laboured to effect its capture. The Poligar, therefore, assembled five or six hundred cavalry and two thousand foot, and, by occupying the roads in the vicinity, stopped all supplies for the army. At this time, which was the period of the return of the Nawaub from Nuggur, he despatched a letter, by a pair of camel sowars, or riders, to Hybut Jung, requiring him to send him from his force a thousand able men, without arms. Hybut Jung accordingly selected a thousand young men from his division, and despatched them from the northward of Rai Droog to Simoga, under an escort of five hundred horse and two battalions of regular infantry, with arms. This body of troops had proceeded two or three fursungs (fursung here apparently means kose), when suddenly the horse and foot of the Poligar made their appearance, and, at first pretending to be friends, charged the escort without hesitation; and although the escort fired briskly, and the horse attacked the enemy, sword in hand, still the infantry of the Poligar, having the cover

and protection of the forest, mastered and threw them all into confusion, and most of the old soldiers or men of experience were without pity put to the sword. Some, however, escaped from the carnage to the protection of the mountains.

When Hybut Khan heard this he left his batteries, and marched with his collected force, and, in the twinkling of an eye, attacked the troops of the Poligar, and gave them such a defeat, that the runaways did not look behind them until they reached the ditch of the Droog before mentioned. He then, in the same place, that is, to the eastward of Rai Droog, planted his colours, and pitched his tents, and wrote a letter to the Poligar, stating that his insubordination arose from the kindness and lenity with which he had been treated by him, (Hybut Jung); and that certainly he had intended, by every means in his power, to intercede with the Nawaub, so as that the Poligar's district or country[g] might remain to him as it was without diminution, and then return with a good name for mildness or lenity; but that, now, he was not to look for any indulgence, but wash his hands of his life and property. When the letter was received by the Poligar, and he understood its contents, he despatched Kistnapa, his Dulwai, or Minister, to in-

[g] سمستان

tercede for the pardon of his offences; and by his negociations he engaged to pay three lakhs of rupees as a Paishkush, two lakhs for his rebellion, and one lakh as a present for his life. He also paid for all the property and cattle belonging to the detachment he had attacked and destroyed, every article being returned; and, after this, Hybuṭ Jung, taking the Dulwai and the money with him, proceeded to the presence. About this time, Meer Alí Ruza Khan was appointed to the Foujdári of Sura, and took leave.

CHAPTER XIII.

An account of the Invasion of Mysoor, by the Paishwa Siwaee Madhoo Rao, Mahratta, and his taking a number of Forts, and the Souba of Sura, &c., with other events of the year 1076, Hijri. A.D. 1762.

When Ballajee Rao Nana, the Poona Paishwa or Purdhan (Minister), died, Siwaee Madhoo Rao, his son, seated himself on the Musnud of his Government, and remained for some time occupied in the internal regulation of his own dominions; sometime after that, however, he began to collect troops, stores, and heavy artillery, so that he at length assembled near one hundred thousand horse, sixty thousand Pindarehs, and fifty thousand matchlock foot, in addition to the troops of Alí Bahadúr, the son of Shumshire, Bahadúr, (who was a son of Ballajee Rao Nana) and, with this immense force, he made an incursion into the Karnatic Balaghaut. An abridged account of Alí Bahadúr is as follows:—[h]

[h] I have been compelled to change the form of the narrative here, as the account of Alí Bahadúr in the original is a long parenthesis.

After the ruin of the Adil Shahi dynasty, a Hindostani dancing girl travelled from Bijapoor to Poona, and took up her residence in that city. This woman being the most beautiful and most accomplished dancer of her time, Ballajee, beguiled by the elegance of her person and accomplishments, fell in love with her, and selected her for his bedfellow, and, being deceived by his professions, this vile woman consented.[i] Being fond of each other, after sometime a son was born, who was brought up by his mother as a Muhammadan. When, however, this boy grew up to manhood, his father, that is Ballajee Rao, gave him the title of Shumshire Bahadúr, with a munsub, and jageer of twelve thousand horse. This Bahadúr was present in the battle of the Sirabdalli (the battle of Paniput), with the Rao, and was killed there, with him; and his son, Alí Bahadúr, was there also.

In reference to the Pindarehs, it is not unknown that they are a low tribe of robbers [k] entertained by some of the princes of the Dukhun, to plunder and lay waste the territories of their enemies, and to serve for guides, or as an example to their own troops. They give these men no certain pay from

[i] It is to be recollected that it is a Muhammadan who writes this work.

[k] اوچکه This word in Turkish signifies a He-Goat, and I can find no other interpretation.

their treasury; but when the troops halt, these people bring hay and wood to the camp for sale, and the price of these articles provides them with necessary subsistence. In time of active service, they are highly pleased to obtain, from the Commanding Officer of their army, permission to plunder; and then they lay waste the country of an enemy so completely, that even the owl and bat would be afraid of such a desart. Indeed, in time of war, they generally pay the Chief of their army a sum of money, under the denomination of horse-shoeing[1] money. But, to return, when Madhoo Rao marched towards Mysore, he visited Shanoor, and took the Hakim or chief of that place, and his troops with him. He next sent for Morar Rao, and then, crossing the river Tungbhudra, by the Gooraknauth Ghaut, marched by the route of Chituldroog, (the Poligar of which also accompanied his army), to the Souba of Sura. The Meer before mentioned, (Meer Alí Ruza Khan,) on the first day, marched out of the fort with his troops, and having viewed the Mahratta army, he returned, and prepared to defend himself. The Rao stationed his artillery on a tank, to the northward of the fort, and began to breach the fortifications at a considerable distance. The Meer, however, de-

[1] نعلبندي

fended himself for ten or twelve days; and then, after exacting good conditions, gave up the keys of the capital of the Souba to the Mahratta, and he himself entered his service; Madhoo Rao, treating him with great kindness, and keeping him about his person. Madhoo Rao next marched to Mudgiri, and, after a siege of about a month, took that hill fort, and leaving there a garrison of his own men, marched onward.

The Nawaub although he marched to Bangalore, with the whole of his horse, foot, and artillery, yet, from the strength of the Mahratta army, which was ten times more numerous than his own, he did not consider it prudent to come in contact with them; agreeing with the words of the wise—*Verse*, "You may overcome a proud enemy by humbling yourself, &c." [m] Making, therefore, no opposition, he returned to Seringaputtun, and threw up batteries round the fort for its protection, and also stationed his artillery, and his regular and Karnatic infantry in different places, and remained at his own quarters, in perfect readiness. All this seeming negligence, or quiet indifference, [n] was however put on merely to try and ascertain the

[m] Humility if thou wilt show,
Thou may'st o'ercome a haughty foe.

[n] خواب خرگوش

intentions, strength, courage, and ability, of the Mahrattas; and Hydur's stable horse, and the Pindarehs, were kept concealed in the jungle or fort of Makuri Droog, and had orders to make plundering expeditions against the enemy.

After sweeping hill and dale, mountain and forest, the Mahrattas at length sat down before the fort of Nijigul, and despatched a summons, demanding the surrender of the fort from Hydur's Killadár, whose name was Sirdar Khan, a brave man, of good family, and faithful to the Nawaub. That trustworthy and brave officer, however, who, by his ability and liberality, had secured the affections of his men, and was certain of their loyalty, replied to the summons by sending them a few cannon balls; upon which, being much incensed by the steadiness and courage of Sirdar Khan, Madhoo Rao immediately assaulted the place, in hopes to break down the defences. The Mahratta troops came on, making a great noise, like a swarm of bees buzzing round their honey. But Sirdar Khan, who thought himself more than equal to a thousand Mahrattas, advanced with his men, and made the breasts of his enemies butts for his cannon and musket balls and arrows, and killed a great number of them; aud from the marks of their blood on the stone steps and rocks of the mountain, he acquired

honourable distinction,[o] and remained victorious. The Mahrattas, having received a total defeat, retired. Nevertheless, they did not delay before they again made another very gallant attack, which, however, had again the same result, and the colour of their faces departed. The next day Madhoo[p] Rao mounted his elephant, and, all being ready, he gave his officers and troops, horse and foot, orders again to assault the hill fort. On this day also, this gallant officer, Sirdar Khan, faithful to his master, fought desperately, and succeeded in repelling the Mahrattas ; and, from the continual fire of the artillery and musketry, from the foot of the mountain to the walls of the fort, heaps of the assailants lay rolling in their blood. Seeing this carnage, the Mahratta began to pause and reflect ; and, having raised the hopes of the Poligar of Chituldroog and others, by valuable presents, and the promise of the remission of their Paishkush for two years, and giving orders also to put to death the whole of the garrison, he employed them to take the fort. The Poligars having in consequence directed their own Bedurs,[q]

[o] Alluding to a Hindu custom.

[p] In speaking of Madhoo Rao, the author generally calls him the Chief Mahratta, or the Ghuneem, or Plunderer.

[q] Footmen, apparently.

men particularly well acquainted with the country, to attack the fort, now sent them on for that purpose. These men, therefore, climbing up at the back of the mountain, through a thousand difficulties and dangers, scaled the walls and towers, by the help of ladders, and raised their shouts of "Koo! Koo!" Sirdar Khan, although he with a party of his men, immediately attacked them desperately, and killed many of them, yet the garrison, seeing their enemies in the fort cutting off heads, became so terrified, that they threw away their arms, and at the same time their lives. Sirdar Khan was wounded, and taken prisoner. Madhoo Rao, however, sent for this brave man, whose forehead shone bright with courage, and seated him in the place of honour, and, bestowing on him great commendations, took him on with him.

Leaving a detachment in Nijigul, Mâdhoo Rao marched forward; but the Nawaub's Kuzzaks made great havoc among his foraging parties, and also attacked his advance and rear guards, and displayed so much bravery, that the Pindarehs of the Mahratta camp, who, in thieving, cheating, and roguery of all kinds, were the ablest men of their time, were, by the daring and villany of Hydur's Kuzzaks, completely outdone, and unable to leave their camp. The Mahrattas themselves, also, not-

withstanding the strength of their army, were frightened at the Nawaub's troops. But, to return—in time Madhoo Rao took Balapoor the greater; and intending, in the first place, to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Puttun, and make the Poligars of that quarter join and assist him in the conquest of the capital of the Khodadad State, he directed his march towards Balapoor the less. Budruzzuman Khan, who was Foujdár there, seeing the strength of the Mahratta army, was alarmed, and considered that opposition could be of no avail; nevertheless, Budruzzuman Khan was a brave and faithful man; but the state of a man's temperament is never long the same, and, according to his view of the case, it seemed to him that his best policy lay in surrendering the fort, and he accordingly gave up the keys, and those of the stores, to Madhoo Rao, and, being allowed to depart freely, he retired to Kirpa.

The Mahrattas now marched to Kolar; and, taking a sum of money from Delawur Khan, they allowed him to retain his Jageer. They then besieged the hill and fort of Murwakul, in which was a garrison of the Nawaub's; and, after several assaults, and the loss of thousands of brave men, the fort was taken, and the Killadár and garrison all put to the sword. From that fort they marched

towards Goorum Kondah, which fort was also in charge of one of Hydur's officers; and, after some opposition, they took that also. Madhoo Rao gave this fort in Jageer to Meer Alí Ruza Khan, who was with him as an Omeidwar,[r] and whose father and grandfather had, in former times, held its Killadári or command for several generations, with authority to raise a thousand horse, and two or three thousand foot, to keep the country on that side in subjection, and with strict orders to reduce the Poligars.—Madhoo Rao then marched to attack Puttun.

The Nawaub had however obtained information of his design; and, with the whole body of his cavalry sought cover in the Jungul of Makuri, and waited there, like a hungry lion looking out for his prey. While he was thus waiting, it happened that suddenly the advanced guard of the Mahrattas, which, in the Persian language, is technically called Beeni-i-Usakir,[s] with a great quantity of stores, provisions, artillery, and the standards of the Paishwa, arrived, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ootri Droog, ignorant of the presence of the Nawaub's troops. The first day they halted, and the next day resolved to proceed, to besiege the fort of Seringaputtun; all the Mahratta troops

[r] A volunteer. [s] The nose of the army.

being void of apprehension of meeting with the Nawaub's forces. Having received this information from their encampment, the Nawaub forbade and prevented, for the whole day, a single man of his force from quitting the Jungle, keeping them in constant readiness. But, as soon as night drew on, the Nawaub marched, and, about midnight, came upon the rear of the unwary Mahrattas, and attacked them so vigorously and successfully, that, with all their overwhelming numbers, amounting to between forty and fifty thousand men, they lost the use of their senses; and, unable to stand against the sword and spear, mostly hid themselves in rice and camel bags,[t] which they had previously emptied, and some, by the active employment of their hands and feet, and by resorting to a hundred tricks and subterfuges, escaped from the battle. Some Chiefs of the Mahrattas, with abject fear, laid their heads under the feet of the horses of the Nawaub's brave soldiers; and the Commanding Officer of the Mahrattas, mounting a horse without a saddle, fled to his great camp or head quarters. Victorious in a degree above all his former victories, the Nawaub ordered his drums to beat and trumpets to sound for joy, and despatched the whole of the Mahratta spoil, as artillery, standards,

[t] جوالها

&c. to Seringaputtun, and took up his ground of encampment on the same spot.

When Madhoo Rao heard of the shameful defeat which his Beenee, or advanced guard, had received, he was greatly afflicted, his colour fled, and he shed the fast tears of sorrow and anger, and bitterly reproached the pale trembling officer, who, after the destruction of his troops, had found means to escape, saying to him in great displeasure "by thy folly thou hast cut off the Paishwa's nose,"[u] meaning that he had lost or sacrificed the Paishwa's honour.

Madhoo Rao after this, left the neighbourhood of Chintamuni, where he was encamped, and went to seek refuge in the mountains of Ambajee Droog. At this time the Nawaub, by a night march, surrounded the fort of Balapoor the greater, carried it without difficulty at the head of his cavalry, and put the whole of the Mahratta garrison to the sword, and the next morning he returned to Makurri Droog. When this intelligence reached also Madhoo Rao, it threw him into great perplexity.

About this time, also, an officer from the Mahratta camp, with five or six thousand horse, plundering the country, as they went, arrived in the Barh Mahl; they were, however, followed and

[u] A pun on the word Beenee.

tracked by Hydur's Kuzzaks, and by their exertions entirely dispersed or destroyed. And here, is it not natural to pause, and consider how wonderful it was, that, notwithstanding the exceeding great number of the Mahratta host, the intrepidity of the Nawaub's Pindarehs so straightened them that they dared not quit the ground of their encampment. The words of the holy book,[x] "How often has a small company conquered a large army."[y] were thus completely verified.

After this, however, the Nawaub, consulting his good sense and discretion, and adapting his conquering policy, to the times; according also, to the *verse*, "A wise man will not give cause of offence."—"To a proud enemy he will be humble :—"When fire flames high water is thrown on it."—"No one would put out fire by adding fire,"[z]—he despatched several able ambassadors to Madhoo Rao, with some presents, which had fallen into his hands in the plunder of their camp, seven lakhs of rupees in money, and a message to this effect; that

[x] كم من فيه قليله غلبت علي كثيره

[y] Full oft have mighty hosts been known
By scanty bands to be o'erthrown!

[z] The wise man studies never to offend,
And to a haughty foe will humbly bend:
When blazes high the flame, we water throw,
Nor heap on fire, and make it fiercer glow.

"it was not just for men of rank and courage, (meaning Madhoo), without cause to slay the poor or plunder the peaceable, but that there was no help for what was past;[a] that it became the dignity of Madhoo Rao to withhold his hands from slaying and plundering God's creatures, and restrain his heart from devising injury to mankind; that he should return to his own country, where he would recommend that the money now sent should be deposited in his treasury, and be received by him as the profit or the produce of his invasion; and that he might consider the Khodadad state, (Mysore) as the aid and support of his own."[b]

When these able, clear-sighted agents reached Madhoo Rao, they delivered their message to him in distinct terms, and handing over the money, with fair and flattering words, brought him to agree to extinguish the fire of discord, and make peace. Madhoo Rao, who had done nothing in two years and three months, in that time had made no permanent acquisition in Mysore, but on the contrary, had witnessed on all sides the ruin of his own army; now, therefore, saw his best policy in the terms of the message, and accepted the propositions

[a] مضي ما مضي

[b] All this is addressed to Madhoo Rao, but, I do not believe Hydur ever sent such a message.

of the Nawaub; sending to him the prisoners he had made of the Nawaub's troops, with presents of money and clothes; and, after that, returned to Poona.

The Nawaub, with his army, followed the Mahrattas as far as Balapoor the less, and then visited the Talookas or districts plundered by them, where he pleased the hearts of the farmers and husbandmen, by advances and aids of money, bullocks for the plough, seed and instruments[c] for the cultivation of the land, and he moreover gave strict orders, to foster the population, and increase the cultivation, and remitted the share of produce belonging to government for one year. He then returned to Bangalore.

At this time, Alí Zumán Khan Nayut, who was married to a sister-in-law of Budruzzuman Khan, arrived at the presence, as the agent of Muhammad Yousuf Khan, commandant of Mudhra, (Madura), against whom Muhammad Alí Khan, the chief of Arkat, had marched a body of troops falsely accusing him of rebellion. Alí Zumán was sent to solicit aid to repel this attack. As, however, the Nawaub had objects of great necessity and importance on hand, he did not consider it convenient or safe at that period to detach any part of his army. For

[c] شیار

some time therefore the negotiation was prolonged, on different pretexts, until, about this period, the chief of Arkat defeated the commandant, and the fort was taken, through the treachery of Seonas Rao, a Brahman of Tanjore and other Jamadars, and the said commandant was impaled: the date of his execution will be found in the words; 'the rebellious commandant.'[d] Meer Alí Zumán Khan, after this, remained with the Nawaub, who, being pleased with his polished manners, his mild disposition, and the charms of his conversation, made him a constant companion. Sometimes, however, he was offended with him, or treated him with caprice. Being a very stout man, the Khan was not able to mount a horse, and therefore, when he went out, Hydur was used to give him the loan of his own elephant.

About this time, also, Fyze Ullah Khan Hybut Jung, who had quarrelled with his father-in-law, Delawur Khan, sought refuge with the Nawaub, to prefer a claim he had on that person, to jewels and articles of value, belonging to his wife; and, opportunities offering themselves, he repeatedly complained to the Nawaub, and excited him greatly against Delawur Khan. The Nawaub, therefore, despatched his own elephant, with the equipage and

[d] كمندان باغي

a few horse, to Kolar, with a summons for Delawur Khan.

The Khan being a wise man, and seeing that his ruin impended, and fearing the mischief produced by his foolish son-in-law, also that he could not with safety to his life reject or refuse the Nawaub's invitation, without any equivocation set out on his journey. When, however, the Nawaub heard of the venerable Khan's arrival, he took the veil of enmity off his honest heart, and advanced to the enclosures of his tent, to meet and do him honour, bringing him into the tent, and seating him on the Musnud with himself, with all the respect and deference which distinguish a man of perfect good breeding,—as one of the poets says, " That man is perfect among the perfect, who shows he is master, while humble as a slave."[e] Hydur told the Khan that he must have considered him, (Hydur), as one of his most faithful servants, to have made so long a journey to see him;—that he, Hydur, was an ignorant man, who yet had much to learn; but he hoped that, by his advice and instruction, he might be brought to the good way. After Hydur had been gratified by the visit of the worthy Khan, and had been made acquainted with the real facts of the

[e] Perfect among the perfect men
That man will surely be,
In whom, while humble as a slave,
We can the master see.

case, he considered the claim of Hybut Jung to be entirely false, and discharged it from his mind. The sons of Hybut Jung, whom Delawur Khan had brought with him, were, however, sent to their father; and a separate tent, being cleared and provided with articles of use and comfort, Delawur Khan was placed therein, and proper servants appointed to attend him, and for his expenses a thousand rupees a month were allowed; besides which, he ate twice a day at the Nawaub's table. About this time, likewise, Noor Ulabsar Khan the son of Dileer Khan, and the nephew of Delawur Khan, was selected by the Nawaub as his son-in-law, and the usual marriage[f] ceremonies were duly performed.

After awhile, the Nawaub, intending to reduce the Poligars in the vicinity of Kolar, and Murwakul, marched a force in that direction; and, at the same time, by the mediation of Khaki Shah Durvesh, one of the Nawaub's counsellors, Hybut Jung, and Muha Mirza Khan, the Bakshi of the Paigah,[g] (a person who had been sent for from Aurangabad, and treated with great distinction and honour,) Meer Alí Ruza Khan, by the promises of a large Jageer, and an increase of rank, was invited and induced to re-

[f] The name of Hydur's daughter married on this occasion was Paupa Bibi, according to Mr. Marriott.

[g] Troop of horse.

turn to the presence; and, as he was a brother-in-law, and otherwise related to the Nawaub, he returned with confidence, and, to secure his attachment, the Nawaub presented him with the hill fort of Goorum Koondah, and the whole of the district of Dindigul in Jageer, and also honoured him with an order to enlist troops.

The Nawaub in about six months had reduced the Poligars of that vicinity; that is, the Poligar of Punganoor, Mudun Pally, Komneer Palah, &c.; and, having finished his arrangements, he returned to Seringaputtun, where he remained for two years, occupied in pleasure and enjoyment; also, in the collection of military stores for future conquest, in the acquisition of which he expended hundreds of thousands of rupees in gold and jewels, as he likewise did in the enlistment of horse and foot, and the purchase of horses.

Yaseen Khan, Wanti Koodri, came, about this time, from Nuthur Nuggur, otherwise Trichinopoly, and entered the Nawaub's service. Muhammad Omar, commandant, about this time fell sick and died, and his son Muhammad Alí, who, during the life of his father was a Soubadár,[h] was promoted to the command of the same Risala.

As soon as, in all respects, his army was ready

[h] Native captain.

for the field, the Nawaub turned his thoughts to certain arrangements required at Nuggur, and marched thither with a well appointed force. On this expedition he took with him Delawur Khan; and, on the days of march or action, the venerable Khan was mounted on Hydur's own elephant, and marched surrounded by the horse of Hydur's stable or Paigah, and accompanied by his Julow or personal guard. Hydur himself rode on horseback, and in front of the regular infantry, and artillery. From Nuggur he despatched a force under the command of Vinkut Rao, Mooshrif, (inspector), a faithful officer in his service, accompanied by Hybut Jung, towards Shanoor; that, by this manifestation, they might collect an adequate Paishkush from the chief of that place, and also reinforce certain garrisons in that neighbourhood. In about a twelvemonth, the Nawaub returned to Puttun, and remained there for some time.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Second Invasion of Mysore by Sewaie Madhoo Rao, and the march of the Nawaub Bahadúr to the neighbourhood of Shanoor, to oppose him; with other events of the year 1078, Hejiri. A.D. 1766.

When Madhoo Rao, after peace had been concluded, returned for the first time from the Karnatic Balaghaut to Poona, he left a Thana, or garrison, in Sura. The Killadár of that place, now hearing of the assembling of the Nawaub's army, and his advance towards Nuggur for the regulation of his affairs there, and becoming alarmed, despatched a full account of these matters to Madhoo Rao, who being also troubled and perplexed, and considering his own destruction to be threatened by the assemblage of the Nawaub's forces, again commenced to collect his troops and chiefs. Having commenced his march towards Mysore, he despatched a body of troops, to reduce all the forts on the frontier, which were held by the Killadárs

of the Nawaub. Hearing of the march of the Mahratta army, the Nawaub marched also with his victorious troops by the route of Seo Mooka, (or Simoga,) and Buswa Puttun; and, having crossed the Tung Bhudr, advanced to Hur Hur, and Arnee, and from that to Meduk, known also by the name of Shikarpoor, where he encamped.

The army of the Mahrattas, after taking the forts before mentioned, marched towards the Nawaub, and encamped about three miles distant from him, and the next morning advanced to attack him. The Nawaub was, however, all ready to receive them, and his troops, ready formed for battle, kept their ground. The Poligar of Chitul Droog, with his force, was present with the Nawaub's army on this occasion. The Mahrattas now surrounded the Nawaub's troops, forming a ring round them; but, although they charged desperately, still the Ghazies, or Mussulmans, constantly repelled them with the greatest steadiness and courage, and maintained their ground throughout the whole of the day. At night, however, the Nawaub quitted that ground, and marched straight to Cheroli, Anoti, and Jara, and there, placing his rear to the Jungul, he encamped; and for the further security of his camp, he mounted his artillery in batteries on all the rising grounds surrounding it; and, being in rea-

diness, he waited for an opportunity to destroy his enemies. After the Nawaub had taken up this position, Madhoo Rao was not able to march and quit him, or to attack any other place. The Chief of Shanoor, however, had made a treaty with the Mahrattas, and gave them his aid.

After a few days, therefore, parties of both armies daily met in the field, and did justice to their manhood by keeping the field of battle constantly occupied by combatants. The Mahrattas likewise placed on the top of a small hill all the guns of their artillery which carried furthest, and from thence cannonaded the Nawaub's camp, and caused great inconvenience to his camp followers. To remedy this, the Nawaub, after some consideration, one night marched with a body of five thousand matchlock infantry marksmen, about fifteen hundred horse, and four light[i] guns of his Julow, or guard, all selected men, leaving the rest of his army under the charge of Hybut Jung Bukhshí, and the regulation of the treasury and Tosheh Khana, &c., to the superintendence of Delawur Khan; the Nawaub's object being to make a night attack, he marched, under cover of the thick jungle, straight on the Mahratta artillery. The time, however, was unlucky, and the hour favourable to his enemies;

[i] لمچهر

for, by reason of the badness of the roads, his troops being obliged to cut down the trees to obtain a passage; by the time they had arrived on a plain near the Mahratta artillery, night vanished, and the morning shone forth brightly. The Mahrattas, therefore, being aware of the approach of the Nawaub's troops, immediately surrounded him, and, setting up shouts of "take, and kill!" and curvetting[k] and leaping their horses, charged on all sides. The Nawaub had very regularly and skilfully formed his infantry into a fort, or square;[l] but, although he gave orders to commence a fire from his guns, not one of them would go off, and fire seemed to take no more effect on them than on so much ice. At length the Nawaub himself dismounted from his horse, and, taking a match in his hand, placed it on the touch-hole of the gun. It was, however, of no use, as the fuse did not take fire; and now, hopeless of any service from his artillery, he kept off the Mahrattas by a sharp fire from his musketry, and still fought to the very extent of his means. At last, the Mahrattas, like a flight of crows, charged in a body and mixed with the Nawaub's troops, shoulder to shoulder, and the

[k] Any one who has seen the Mahratta cavalry about to charge, will understand this description.

[l] A hollow square.

ranks of the Nawaub's troops were broken, and thrown into confusion, and their lives uselessly lost. Vinkut Rao, the Dewaun, was killed, and Alí Zumán Khan, wounded; and some of the Nawaub's troops, under pretence of bringing aid or ammunition, ran away. When they saw the field their own, the Mahratta army followed the fugitives, and as long as they were able, plundered and slew them. The Nawaub, by his intelligence and activity, escaped from the slaughter, and like the sun without a peer, and alone, sat down under a tree, and surveyed with wild passion the field so favourable to his enemies. Just at this time, a drummer with his drum arrived at the place where he sat, and stood before him. Thinking his arrival a very fortunate occurrence, and a happy presage of the fortune of his troops, the Nawaub ordered him to beat (a charge), and he accordingly beat his drum in such a way that the sound shed terror on the Mahrattas; and they fearing, from the beating of the drum, that a re-inforcement had arrived to the aid of the discomfited Mussulmans, left all the baggage they had taken, and began to run away. The Nawaub had scarcely collected the remainder of his force, which the sword had left to him, and arrived in the plain, when Hybut Jung, with the artillery, regular infantry, and ca-

valry, arrived to his aid by a forced march. The Nawaub's mind now being fully at ease, he took the troops with him, followed the enemy at speed, and gave orders to his artillery and infantry to fire as fast as they could, to break the heads and legs of the runaway Mahrattas and their horses; which they did successfully. The Mahrattas now retired, dragging with them their guns; but, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, for want of time to carry them away. They, however, carried off the artillery which they had captured.—When the Mahratta army was out of sight, the Nawaub collected all his own dead, and wounded, with the wounded Mahrattas, and brought them to his camp, and ordered their wounds to be sewn up and dressed, giving, at the same time, the allowance of Murhum Putti, (a compensation in money for wounds), to every one.

The Mahrattas, with their troops, now marched towards Binkapore, where they halted; and, as the rainy season had arrived, they placed themselves in cantonments there. The Nawaub halted on the same ground, (that of the battle.)—Madhoo Rao, however, notwithstanding the rainy season, despatched Gopal Rao, the chief of Mirch, with his force, to plunder and destroy the country on the other side the river Tung Bhudr. Gopal

Rao, therefore, crossing that river at the ford of Horul, advanced, plundering the people, and firing the villages, all the way he went. From the Poligars of Hurpun Hully, Rai Droog, &c., he collected the Paishkush by force, and plundered the dependencies of Chitul Droog, and filled the four quarters of the Karnatic with the noise and tumult of calamity and oppression. Gopal Rao, having made the teeth of rapacity sharper than the claws[m] of a dog, with perfect confidence, and a loose rein, encamped near Hussdroog, a dependency of Chituldroog.

When this intelligence reached the Nawaub, he, leaving the whole of his troops and baggage in the same place, with only six thousand stable horse, nine thousand Sillahdárs,[n] four thousand regular infantry, and six guns, lightly equipped, marched secretly and rapidly towards them, and, on the third night, he fell bravely on the Mahrattas, who were seized by the hand of death, and ignorant of the change brought about by the revolution of the heavens, pouring such a fire upon them, that all at once their union as a body, and the firmness of their minds, were broken by fear, and

[m] A queer simile.

[n] The Sillahdár is a trooper hired with his horse and arms at a certain rate of pay for all.

they were scattered as the falling leaves before the desolating winds of autumn. Those men only of the Mahrattas who, throwing down their arms, abandoned their horses, and, shewing their teeth, held up the hand of supplication for mercy to Hydur's brave soldiers, were spared. The officer in command of the Mahratta troops, whose name is above mentioned, (Gopal Rao), withdrawing the hand of courage and honour from all things denoting his rank and authority, took what was present of his property, and some plunder obtained by his rapacity and oppression; and, in astonishment, repeating these lines,—"Every one carries away some worldly goods,"—"we, for our parts, have withdrawn our hearts from the things of this world," accompanied by a few men, escaped on one side, and took the road to Sura. The camp followers, and women of the soldiers, all that had escaped the sword, and were seeking their safety by flight, never stopped until they arrived at the protection of the ditch of the fort at Sura. Some, by a thousand stratagems and labours, fled with all speed, and falling and rising again, and thinking every moment the last, arrived at the head quarters of the Poona army. The victorious Nawaub remained the whole of that day on the Mahratta ground of encampment, and collected all the bag-

gage; as tents, standards, and arms, and having laden with them all the elephants, horses, and camels, taken from the enemy, and setting fire to the remainder, which lay about in heaps, he returned to his camp.

When the Mahratta, (Madhoo Rao), heard of this exploit of the Mujahidan, or Mussulmans, he became convinced he would scarcely be able to preserve his own life in the present campaign, and was fearful that, by some sudden change, his power and authority might be scattered to the winds. About this time, also, the Kuzzaks of the Nawaub's army, who, in the arts of deceiving and plundering their enemies might be considered perfect, by changing their dress and altering the cut of their beards, &c., joined the foraging parties of the Mahrattas without suspicion; and, after associating with them for some time without discovery, when they found an opportunity, raised a tumult, which might be likened to that of the day of judgment, among their quondam friends, relieving them from the charge of five thousand horses, nineteen elephants, and ninety head of camels, besides slaying them without compunction.

When Madhoo Rao saw his troops in these difficulties, and that, notwithstanding their great

number, they could take no rest at night for fear of attack; that, during the day, for fear of their lives, they did not dare to quit their encampments; that, above all, from the violence of the rains of that year, the earth was more over-flowed with water, than the eyes of an unfortunate lover; and that both men and beasts had lost the use of their limbs from extreme heat and cold, and that, like as if frozen, many of them slept in the arms of death; when, therefore, Madhoo Rao found himself surrounded by such difficulties, his heart gave way, and, without the accomplishment of his projects, and after the lapse of one year and some months, by the mediation of able Vakeels or Ambassadors, the war was concluded, on the payment of two Lakhs of rupees, (by Hydur), although, in its prosecution, Madhoo Rao had incurred the expense of a great many Lakhs. After this settlement, Madhoo Rao returned to his capital, Poona.

The Nawaub, victorious, after making some necessary arrangements in that quarter, returned by the route of Nuggur, happy and rejoicing. When he arrived at Seringaputtun, Delawur Khan, pretending to be sick, obtained leave of absence and retired to Kolar; from which place, secretly and at night, he, with his baggage, valuables, women, and his whole household, without any evident

cause, took the road to the Payanghaut; and, on his arrival there, selected Arkat as his residence The Nawaub, when he heard of his flight, was much surprized; but lost no time in sending a detachment of troops to garrison the fort of Kolar, and took possession of the district for himself.

CHAPTER XV.

An account of the conquest of Koorg, and the reduction of Kalikote, (Calicut), &c.; events which occurred in the year 1181, Hijri. A.D. 1767.

From the time of the Kings of Bijapoor, the Zemindárs of this part of the country, (meaning the south of India), such as the Chiefs of Koorg, Kalikote, (Calicut), &c., paid each of them a proportionate Paishkush, at the capital of the Kings; through the medium of the governor of the Souba Sura, and after the fall of that dynasty, they paid their customary tribute to the Názim, or Soubadár of the Dukkun, that is, to the Nawaub Asof Jah; sometimes without denial or delay, and sometimes when troops were marched towards them to enforce payment. In the last days, however, of the Nizámut of Asof Jah, who, by reason of the arrogance and incursions of the Mahrattas, and his constant conflicts with them, had no leisure to collect or confirm the dues of Government in this quarter, the whole of these men, taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them, rebelled,

and without further hesitation each became a sovereign prince in his own territory. The governors of the Souba Sura, also, who had been ordered by the Názims of the Dukkun to correct and chastise the irregularities of these Zemindárs, not only slothfully neglected their duty, but, from the influence of bribes, connived at the irregularities of the Poligars. When, however, by the strength of his arms, and the exertion of his courage, the power of the Nawaub increased he reduced them all to subjection, and drew them into the circle of those obedient to his commands, making them the servants of his will, and the slaves of his policy. At this latter period, however, from the incursion of the Mahrattas into the Nawaub's country, and the Nawaub's full occupation in repelling them, they again became insubordinate in their own districts, lifted up their heads to rebellion, plundered and murdered the garrisons of the Nawaub, stationed in all the forts in their vicinity, and reduced the whole country under their own authority. These circumstances having been reported to the Nawaub, and he being now relieved from the Mahratta contest, he, like an angry lion, marched by the way of Nuggur and the sea-shore, towards that wild desert, (Koorg); and having collected six or seven hundred fishermen, with their boats, and

directed his supplies and stores to be sent by sea, he himself marched with his regular and irregular infantry, and artillery, and fell on the heads of these rebels like a sudden calamity. The first on whom he fell was the Poligar of the Bul district, who, when he had an opportunity, had attacked the dependencies of Seringaputtun, and plundered them, carrying off the goods and cattle of the peasants of the Sirkar.[o] This violence had unsettled the minds of the people, and made them abandon their homes. The re-assurance of their minds, and their safety and comfort, the Nawaub thought could, therefore, by no means be so well secured or established as by the destruction of these rebels. He consequently attacked them briskly, and plundered and devastated their country. Not being able openly or alone to oppose the invincible Nawaub, the Poligar abandoned his fort, and, with his property and family, slunk away like a fox, to the protection of the forest, and, in confederacy with the Chief of Koorg, prepared for war. The Nawaub, seeing this, left a strong detachment in the fort of Bul, and instantly marched forward, and courageously threw himself into the terrible forests

[o] The historian feelingly describes the plunder of the Nawaub's territory, but makes very slight mention of the territories of other states ravaged and desolated by him.

and wilds of Koorg, like a wild elephant, and near Akrubnar, (a town or village so called), a great and well contested battle was fought between him and the Poligar of Bul—so fiercely contested, indeed, that, at the commencement of the engagement, the discipline and order of the Nawaub's troops had nearly given way. While, however, they were in this state, the Nawaub himself, with a few brave men, under the thick cover of the trees, marched and attacked the rear of the enemy, and wielded the sword with such vigour, that the great actions of Rustum and Isfendiar were again presented to the admiration of the world; so that most of the rebel Chiefs and soldiers were slain, or ran away, and some sought refuge among the troops of the Khodadad.

Tippoo Sultaun, Hydur's son, on this day first displayed the innate courage of his nature, and the honour he obtained by his prudence and bravery, enlightened his daring countenance. The mode in which the circumstance occurred was this:—When Hydur, with his select band, attacked the rebels, and overthrew them, Tippoo, who was then only eighteen years of age, fortunately obtained a clue to the place where the dependents, (that is, the women,) of the Poligar had taken refuge. This place was five or six miles from the field of battle,

and through a thick dark forest, as full of turnings and windings as the curls of a Lady's ringlets. With two or three thousand brave and experienced men, Tippoo, by a forced march, came suddenly upon them, and, although the guardians of the honour, (the women), of the Poligar were aware of their coming, and steadily opposed their advance with spears, swords, and matchlocks, yet the bravery of Hydur's men was irresistible, and their first attack effaced the memory of the great actions performed by the brave son of Zal, (an allusion to Rustum the hero of the Shah Namah). The rebel guards, giving their honour to the winds, saved themselves by covering or concealing themselves under the robes[p] of the women, and some even dressed themselves like women, and trembling fell down before the swords of the brave soldiers; and some, who fought fearlessly, were slain without accomplishing their object. The fortunate son of Hydur, therefore, rubbing the forehead of gratitude and thanksgiving on the threshold of the true and only giver of victory, with (the honour of the dishonoured) the women, and other valuables, returned to his father, and was received with great favour and distinction.

[p] ساري A robe worn by women in India, extending from the hip to the ancle.

When the Poligar saw the miserable state of his dependents and servants he was thrown into deep affliction; but now, in addition to this, he was doomed to hear of the plunder of his house, and the capture of the women of his family; and, overwhelmed by this calamity, striking the hand of grief on the head of his pride, he, in the most abject manner, with his hands bound, accompanied by some of his servants, presented himself to Hydur, and, like a slave girding his loins to service, was obedient to the orders he received. He also brought valuables, treasure, and elephants' teeth, of which there was about fifty camel loads, collected in a long period by his forefathers, and presented them to Hydur, who, pitying his condition, received him with favour and encouragement, took him with the army, and soon after gave him back his women and his territory; and having taken assurances from him, for the protection of the peasantry, and the improvement of the country, Hydur marched on.

Hearing of the ruin and desolation which had fallen on the Poligar of the Bul district, part of which, indeed, he had seen, the Koorg Chief began to fear what would befal himself; and he, therefore, commenced to devise means to secure his own safety. The result of his reflections being that

submission to the Nawaub was the best and safest policy, he submitted, became tributary, and paid a large sum of money, and likewise gave valuable presents of the rarities of the country. By these means, he was received as one of those to whom forgiveness is extended. The Nawaub, however, placed a garrison of his troops in the fort of Murkera; but left the country in his possession, and proceeded further on. Alí Raja, the Chief of Cananore, who was a Muhammadan, and of the tribe called Mapilla,[q] rejoiced at the success and conquests of a Muhammadan Chief, and considering obedience to him as an increase of honour to himself, submitted without delay, and entered into public affairs, in aid and support of the Nawaub's measures. Hydur, also, by presents and kindness, gained his confidence; and, because this chief was known to be well acquainted with the secrets of that country, he associated him in his plans, and marched to the reduction of the environs of Kalikote. The rebels of that place, who were of the Naimar caste, brave and hardy, as they undoubtedly were, were soon conquered by the ability and bravery of Hydur; some were slain, and some were put in irons. The Poligar of Char-

[q] The Mapillas are the descendents of Arabs, by Teer or Nair women; they follow the religion of their fathers, although their name signifies that they are the sons of their mothers.

kul being likewise subdued, his wealth and country were assumed by Hydur; but, as he was not taken alive, being slain, his son, who was about seven years old, and a prisoner, was honoured by being adopted by Hydur, and was named Iyaz Khan. This young man had other brothers. In short, when the Nawaub prepared to commence the siege of Kalikote, the Chief of the Naimars, seeing that his affairs were going to ruin, that all his country had been conquered by the brave soldiers of the Nawaub, that he was not able to oppose him in open fight, nor had he the means of escaping from him, and, being therefore resourceless, despatched Vakeels with presents, and provisions[r] for the army, and the tribute money, and asked forgiveness of his offences. The Nawaub, from convenience and policy, called the Envoys to the presence; and, having severely reproved them, he honoured the Chief with a Kowl Nama, or security, to set his mind at ease, and sent for him; and, after they had met, Hydur gave him his life and property, and forgave his offences, but took the country out of his hands, and instead of it gave him a monthly pension, and thus freed himself from all further trouble with him.[s]

[r] اذوقه

[s] Taking possession of the Poligar's country, under written assurances of life and property.

When this intelligence became known in that neighbourhood, that the Nawaub received those under the shadow of his protection who sought his forgiveness, and that he punished the rebels to his authority with a strong arm, by plunder and desolation, and to such a degree, that the names and signs of them and their families were no longer found on the page of existence, the Naimars and Mapillas placed the ring of obedience in the ear of their affections, and bound the girdle of devotion on the loins of service. From this place the Nawaub marched to Koochi Bundur,[1] from the inhabitants of which neighbourhood he exacted a large sum of money, and drew the whole of the Naimars under his authority. The Chief of Malabar, also, dreading the courage and lion-like qualities of Hydur's soldiery, and fearing lest his territories should be ravaged, sent Hydur twenty-eight elephants, and seven Lakhs of rupees, as a present; and, by that means, turned him away from his quarter. The victorious Nawaub remained nearly two years making arrangements for the regulation of the Naimars of the hilly tract of country, and the neighbourhood of Coimbetoor, &c.; and Sirdar Khan, an officer of great courage, was appointed Subadár of that province, with a sufficient military

[1] Cochin, on the Malabar coast.

force attached to him; and then, after having given him orders to punish the insubordinate in that neighbourhood, Hydur marched to reduce the Poligar of Dindigul.

CHAPTER XVI.

An account of the incursion of Trimuk Rao Mama, the maternal uncle of Madhoo Rao, into the Karnatic Balaghaut, and the terrible defeat the troops of the Nawaub sustained in the battle of the hill of Churkooli, a place about four or five miles to the northward of Seringaputtun; and, lastly, Trimuk Rao's bootless return to Poona; with other fearful events of the year 1182, Hijri, A. D. 1768.

Madhoo Rao having returned from his first and second expeditions without success, and brooding over his failures, in the same fit of despondency was seized by the palsy,[u] and died. Narayen Rao, his brother, succeeded him, and remained for some time occupied in his own regulations and government. After that, however, the thorn of his shameful failure in the Balaghaut, wounding his heart, to relieve himself from painful reflection and sorrow, he formed a deep scheme or plan, and despatched Trimuk Mama, his maternal uncle, with a hundred and twenty thousand horse, and sixty

[u] خفقان

thousand foot, and a hundred pieces of light artillery, to conquer that country, and he himself proceeded to Sitara.

As soon as Trimuk had received his orders to proceed to this quarter, he marched on, and soon arrived in the Balaghaut; and all the Poligars of this part of the country, such as Morar Rao, the Chituldroog chief, the Ruttun Giri, the Merkaisi, the Khut, Kumneer chiefs, &c., who had all been spared by the heavy hand of the Nawaub, all now at once turned against him, and joined the Mahrattas; and every one took upon himself the responsibility of guarding the Mahratta camp, and escorting supplies to their army. The chiefs of Shanoor and Kirpa,[v] also, followed the same path. Trimuk, consequently advanced, and took possession of some forts, depending on Puttun, which were out of repair, or not well garrisoned, and, giving them over in charge to his own officers and men, he marched towards Puttun, and, with the hand of oppression, plundered and destroyed the poor inhabitants of the country, and so completely desolated most of the towns and districts, that they have not been repeopled to this day. In whatever place his ill-omened troops encamped, were it but for a single day, that place remained

[v] Called Cuddapah, by Wilks.

uninhabited for years, and the abode of bats and owls; and on whatever ground the plundering troops of this oppressor halted, even but for an hour or two, from beneath the earth cries of Amán,[w] (mercy,) and the sound of Ul Hafeez,[x] (God the Protector), arose, and reached the ears of the oppressed world.[y] When Trimuk found that the plains of this part of the country were free from the presence of the raging lion,[z] he, without any constraint or fear, extended his steps to the plunder of the wealth and property of the inhabitants of the Balaghaut. The Nawaub, however, when he came to know Trimuk's intentions, and his invasion of this neighbourhood, returning rapidly with his troops and artillery, arrived at Seringaputtun; and, after making some arrangements there, marched by the way of Chenputtun, towards the jungul of Makri Droog, with this intention, that, whenever the Mahratta, (Trimuk), should besiege Puttun, he would attack and harass his rear. Having arrived and obtained cover there, he remained waiting for an opportunity to carry his design into effect, while Trimuk, on hearing that the Nawaub had arrived near the said Droog, immediately marched with his troops and artillery in that direction. The Nawaub, being also in-

[w] امان [x] الحفيظ [y] زمان و زمانيان [z] شرزه

formed of this movement, marched at night, and having defeated the advanced guard of the Mahrattas, he entered the mountains of Milekote. On the following day, the Mahrattas moved from their encampment, and besieged Milekote.

The first day of the siege, the Nawaub, with the whole of his regular infantry and artillery, made an attack on the Mahrattas; and, by a constant fire of artillery, and vollies of musketry, drove them off the field of battle. Notwithstanding this, the troops of Trimuk still surrounded the fort, at a distance. Hydur, meanwhile, maintained his position for fifteen or twenty days, and kept the hill against his enemies, fighting hard with them every day. At length, however, as his provisions were failing him, and as he could procure no hay or corn for his horses, he determined to return to his capital, Puttun. At night, therefore, Hydur cut down the jungul at the back of the hill, and, having despatched his artillery under Meer Alí Ruza Khan, he himself, with his horse and regular foot, marched to amuse and occupy the Mahrattas, and, after forming his lines, at the foot of the mountain, and displaying his strength to them, he marched on.

The road to the rear of the mountain was, however, very bad, the surface being up and down, and full of ravines and holes, and the guns and

stores were not able to get on, until by the exertion of great labour[a] they proceeded seven or eight miles. At this distance, the jungul or forest ended; the night also closed, and morning appeared. The Mahratta scouts, or sentinels, now gave information to Trimuk Rao, that the Nawaub's artillery and stores were proceeding towards Puttun; and, immediately on hearing this intelligence, he marched off all his troops, with strict orders to take the artillery, and bring it back to him; he himself following. By this time the Nawaub had advanced four Fursungs[b] (perhaps Kose), and had arrived near Kurri Goorah, (a place situate north-east[c] from Puttun, and three or four Fursungs distant from that town, when he heard that Trimuk, like a salamander had attacked his fire department, or artillery and ammunition, and had not only taken the whole, but was actually returning with it. Hydur immediately gallopped off with his cavalry, to the main body of his enemies, who, being crowded round the artillery, formed as good a mark as a butt on a mound, and attacking and breaking in upon them

[a] محنت شاقه

[b] Nearly sixteen miles. A Kose is one mile and a half; a Fursung, four miles and three quarters.

[c] ایسانی

on one flank, he dispersed them, and reached his guns,[d] and then, without stopping, marched straight from that place towards his capital, having his horse in the centre, and his right and left wings, and his advanced and rear guards, formed of his regular and irregular infantry, and artillery, and keeping up a continual fire. In this movement, notwithstanding troop after troop of the Mahratta cavalry leaped or sprang their horses against the rampart formed by his infantry, the fire of his veterans blackened the faces of their manhood, and sent them away in despair. During this time, however, the Mahrattas had placed seven or eight long guns on the bank of the Mooti Tulaub, or Pearl Tank, and had blocked up the road of safety to the Nawaub's troops; and from that position they commenced a brisk fire, the shot of which threw the Nawaub's baggage and followers into great confusion. The Nawaub, therefore, taking with him a number of his brave fellows, and two guns, advanced, fighting desperately; and, not giving the enemy time to draw off the guns or retire in safety, fell on them like the stroke of fate, and, at one charge, took their guns and ammunition, and this done, halted there. As the whole of the Nawaub's army and artillery had come up from the rear, they

[d] بتوپخانه پیوست It appears he could not retake his guns.

halted there also, for a short time, to take their breakfast; and although the wiser servants of the Nawaub, and the experienced officers of his government, represented to him that for that day he had better plant his standard and pitch his tents where he was; and that the next morning they might proceed with perfect ease to the capital, still, as the heavenly bodies do not always revolve after the same fashion, and those intrusted with the decrees of fate are not always guided by the same rules; so, the ruin of the God-given [e] state had arrived, and there was no help for it! "In truth, an unlucky day will never be seen fortunate."—"On his burial night no one will sleep in his house."—"What fate has from eternity prescribed,"—"power has no choice but to meet at the appointed time." The suggestions of the able men about the Nawaub did not agree with his opinion for the reason that "When ruin comes to any one, folly or madness shuts up the path of wisdom."—"On an unlucky day sense or wisdom is taken away;" and the Nawaub, therefore, let go the thread or clue of care and caution; and, after eating and drinking what was presented to him, he arose, and the troops, forming by his directions, commenced their march.

The forces of the Mahrattas were, in num-

[e] خداداد

bers, like ants or flies, and, surrounding him as he moved on, they made continual attacks on him. On their arrival near the hill of Churkooli, it chanced that a shot from one of the Mahratta guns, fired at a considerable distance, fell among a string of camels carrying rockets, and threw them into disorder; and, in the tumult and crowd of men, the rockets took fire, and flying among the baggage and followers, threw them into utter confusion. To increase their misfortunes, a rocket, which had taken fire, fell on one of the boxes of ammunition, and blew it up; and in the black cloud of smoke, which rose up to heaven, many of Hydur's brave soldiers were carried up to a great height, and then cast down head foremost on the ground. Fate having thus broken the bonds of discipline and order, which held the army together, the enemy's Pindarehs, taking advantage of this disaster, like a new bride in the house of a son-in-law,[f] with the greatest confidence insinuated themselves into the mass; and, notwithstanding the Nawaub's troops used their arms with effect, and resisted to the utmost, they could avail themselves nothing, but were completely subdued and cut up; and, therefore, like the humblest and most patient, they bore whatever insult or injury

[f] عروس بخانه داماد

the Mahrattas chose to inflict on them. Lala Mean, the favorite[g] son-in-law of Shahbaz Sáhib, after making a desperate resistance, and giving worthy proof of his courage, drank the cup of martyrdom. Meer Alí Ruza Khan, and Alí Zumán Khan, with many other chief officers, were taken prisoners, and most of the soldiers, both horse and foot, considering flight as a stain upon their honour, fought as long as they could stand, and then resigned their heads, as a religious offering or sacrifice, to the swords and spears of the Mahrattas. Yaseen Khan, Wunti Koodri, a faithful friend and servant of the Nawaub's, who was in some respects like him in person,[h] entered the ranks of the Mahrattas, and gave himself out for the Nawaub; and, having taken more draughts of the Sherbet of sword wounds than his strength could bear, was lying senseless on the ground, when the stupid Mahrattas thinking he was the lion-hearted Nawaub, and, rejoicing, took him up and carried him away to Trimuk Rao. Thus the whole of the equipment of the army, which had been collected with so much labour, was now plundered and trampled beneath the hoofs of the Mahratta horse, and the excellent store department, and artillery, small and great, all fell into the hands of

[g] داماد خاص

[h] هموضع

the Mahrattas. The Nawaub, however, while he repeated these lines, *Verse*,—"If thou art fortunate, it is not owing to thy prudence."—"Or if thy plans be bad, it is not thy fault."—"Be resigned and contented, and live happy."—"Thou art not qualified to know any thing about fate, good or bad,"—mounted the hill of Churkooli, and, standing on a millstone, viewed on all sides, with furious anger, the victorious career of these wild men, the Mahrattas, as they charged and pursued his troops. At that moment, Ghazi Khan Bede, (a Pindara), presented himself, and with the greatest difficulty forced him from the field, and, attended by only fourteen good horse, escorted him to Puttun.

The Nawaub, however, in his absence from his brave son Tippoo, who had been separated from his side in the battle, lost all rest and peace of mind; and was overwhelmed with affliction, and having visited the tomb of the saint, Kadur Wuli, a Peer Zadah, which is situated N. E. (Eesani) of the fort, near the bank of the river Kauveri, he made his arrival known to Meer Ismael Khan, who was commandant of the fort. Having made all necessary arrangements in the fort, Meer Ismael waited for his coming and when the time of evening[i] prayer arrived, Hydur's son, of auspicious

[i] عصر

presage, came in without injury, attended only by two or three horsemen, and in the garb of a Mahratta Pindara. The Nawaub's life was restored to him by the sight of his son, and, immediately entering the fort, he threw open the door of his treasury of gold and jewels, and to every horseman or foot soldier who had escaped from that disastrous battle, he gave his two handsful of gold, and to every man, who returned with his horse and arms, he gave, besides an honorary dress, a present of five handsful of gold. "The fortunate Feridoon was not an angel."—"He was not formed of musk and amber."—"He owes his name to his liberality." —"Give and thou shalt be Feridoon."[k]

But, (to return to the combat,) Muhammad Alí, commandant, when he saw his troops in this condition, and being at the same time ignorant of the safety of Hydur, determined to devote himself to death, and repeated to himself the following lines.—"I call myself a man as long as I have life in my body,"—"but of what use will my life be if I be without manhood."—"To be fearful in the day of

[k] To angel birth had Feridoon no claim;
Neither of musk and amber was he formed:
His heart a largely-bounteous spirit warm'd;
And thus he gain'd a never-dying name.
Be of thy gifts as liberal as he,
And thou thyself a Feridoon shall be.

battle, is for cowards."—"It is the custom of brave men to leave their heads on the field of battle." The commandant, therefore, with the utmost coolness and bravery, collected his own men, with others of Hydur's troops, and mounting the hill, and taking advantage of the cover of the rocks, without water or food, and carrying on his body three sword wounds, and still keeping up his courage, he fought till the evening. During this time, his well sustained fire of musketry slew numbers of the Mahrattas, and every one of the Nawaub's men, who was able, by every art and means in his power, joined the brave commandant's company, and fought valiantly. Trimuk Rao himself was pleased with his courage and devotion, and, by the medium of Muhammad Yousuf, a commandant in his own service, sent them a Kowl Nama, or assurance of safety, and by that means at night brought down the gallant commandant and his party with their arms, to whom he also sent a dinner. The arms of his men were, however, taken from them, and a guard was placed over them. And now, at the instance of his master, the officer of Trimuk, however much by fair words and every art, he endeavoured to induce Muhammad Alí to accept service with the Mahrattas, still, the brave commandant refused; but, to please and deceive them, he said, that, if they would give him leave to return once to Puttun, he,

after he was cured of his wounds, would bring his family, and then serve them according to the best of his judgement and ability. The next night, therefore, he was released, and marched towards Puttun, with sixteen hundred men. On his route it happened, accidentally, that two thousand Mahratta matchlock men were stationed as an outlying picket, or outpost, about two fursungs from the camp, and were sleeping in great security, with their arms stacked or piled[1] about them. The commandant, on seeing them, thought them a valuable prize, and with his unarmed men having broken with stones the heads of those who were lying about, and having seized all their arms and ammunition, he marched, firing at the Mahrattas, until he arrived near the fort of Seringaputtun, where he learned that the Nawaub was safe, and soon after joined him. On the commandant's arrival, the Nawaub, knowing his fidelity and his bravery, and having heard the fire of the muskets of his party, (when engaged with the enemy), returned thanks to God; and, considering the life of that brave man as one of the best supports of his government he embraced him warmly, and made him presents of honorary dresses, money and a new musket, or rifle, fabricated in his own arsenal.

The fort was now strengthened on all sides, by

[1] سه پایه بنادیق

new works, and guns were mounted on them ; and being quite prepared, the Nawaub waited for his enemy, he, however, was daily engaged in enlisting recruits, and collecting warlike stores.

The victorious Mahrattas now despatched to the Souba of Sura, the prisoners of the Nawaub's troops, which they had made. Meer Alí Ruza Khan, however, (who, after much solicitation, had entered the service of Madhoo Rao and been appointed to the government of Gurum Kondah, but who, after that, in consequence of his ties of kindred, with the Nawaub, had again returned to him, deserting the Paishwa's service,) was sent for by Trimuk, who, after reproving him in no very proper or delicate language, despatched him a prisoner to Poona. Still believing that Yaseen Khan was no other than Hydur Alí, himself, Trimuk Rao had a separate tent pitched for him, and all means were taken to console and comfort him, and he was requested, with much importunity, to send for his family and his son Tippoo. Yaseen Khan, being a prudent man, who, merely from gratitude, endeavoured to shield his master from injury, (under the shadow of whose protection thousands and thousands of men found subsistence), and who had borne the hardships of the fight, and had made convenient to himself both the heat and cold of fortune, laughed in his sleeve at

the soft flattering words of Trimuk, but gave him no answer. When, however, in the course of about eight or ten days, Trimuk was informed, that the Nawaub was safe, and that he was assembling troops, collecting stores, and mounting guns, to strengthen the fort, he became aware that his prisoner was one of the Nawaub's faithful and devoted servants, and was ashamed of his own want of discernment; and he marched forthwith to attack the fort. He, therefore, raised batteries, commenced to carry on his approaches,[m] and opened the fire of his guns. The rumour of the generosity and profusion of the Nawaub, was, however, so prevalent in Trimuk's camp, that most of the brave and experienced soldiers, who served under him with degradation[n] and despondency, taking their arms and horses, repaired to Hydur, enlisted in his service, and prepared to chastise his enemies. In a very short time, ten or twelve thousand horse, and regular infantry, were thus collected, and the Nawaub had gained the hearts of his servants to such a degree that all were ready to die for him, and breathed nothing but defiance.[o] One night, therefore, Hydur sent for Muhammad Alí, commandant, and said "the Mahrattas having become insolent, fearless,

[m] صلابت کوچه

[n] Being in the service of a Kafir.

[o] انا و لاغيري

and very rash, we have determined that their correction shall fall to the share of our Khodadad (state); but what is your advice?" The brave and veteran commandant in reply immediately took the responsibility of the plan on his own experience and ability, and, with two thousand matchlocks, lightly equipped, leaving the city by the Mysore gate, and then crossing the river and passing under cover of the walls of the Soomar Peenth, or suburb, he fell upon the enemy, stationed near the Eed Gah, to the amount of three thousand foot belonging to the Poligar of Chitul Droog and two thousand foot belonging to Morar Rao, who with four guns and one thousand horse had established themselves there; these troops he immediately attacked, and with sword and bayonet roused the men whose fortunes were sleeping, from the bed of life, and those awake, whose good fortune was also sleeping, were laid to rest in the bed of eternity. The remainder both horse and foot, were made prisoners, and their hands tied behind them,[p] and placing all the arms and equipment of the defeated party on their heads, sent them with their horses and guns to Hydur. He for his own part remained in the same place about two hours, and in the morning returned victorious. The Chief of the Droog and Morar Rao escaped with shame and dis-

[p] چنبر ساخته

grace[q]. The Nawaub was rejoiced at this victory, and beat his drums, and fired a salute on the occasion. The Mahrattas, however, being very numerous now without any fear or hesitation raised a large and very strong battery on the north of the Kurri Khet[r] Hill, and near the river, this was called the Khas or Trimuk's battery and they mounted some large guns on it and by the shot and shells[s] from this battery the people in the fort suffered much. The brave commandant seeing this presumption of the Mahrattas, and the injury sustained, was exceedingly angry and several times represented to the Nawaub that if he had permission he would raise a storm on Trimuk Khas's battery, and compel the occupiers to quit it, and that then he would give the rest of the Mahratta troops a great shock by pouring vollies of arrows and musketry on them.[t] The Nawaub, however, was alarmed at this proposition considering the immense army of the Mahrattas, and, therefore, kept him back; he, however, by importunity and repeated requests at length obtained leave. "Oh truly the

[q] زرد روي

[r] This hill is called Karighat by Mr. Thornton and others.

[s] منجنيق

[t] A strictly literal translation of this book would be an absurdity.—I have therefore in some places deviated from the original, but not more than I could help.

hearts of the brave are restless as quicksilver until they effect the destruction of their enemies"—having therefore obtained leave he set out at night with three thousand regular infantry and one thousand Karnatic foot, taking nothing with him but his ammunition marched by the road of Sosili and having crossed the river at the distance of two Kose and taking the cover of the forest,[u] he proceeded above the villages of Kurkawul, and Arkera, and passing towards the small hills of Hurroor, advanced steadily straight from the rear to the battery under the pretence of being a reinforcement and relief to the Mahrattas stationed in it. The Mahrattas in charge of the battery hearing of the relief of the advanced parties[v] were highly pleased and anxiously expecting them; when the brave commandant found, that the time was favourable and his good fortune aiding him, and that by deceiving his enemies he would attain his heart's desire, he without any hesitation marched into the battery and instantly gave his orders to his men to attack, and throwing their hand grenades[w] on the heads of these worshippers of pride, they raised out of them the black smoke of destruction,[x] and with the merciless sword cut off the heads of the soldiers, pioneers, and men lying in the battery and trenches, and laid them up in heaps. They then

[u] بيابان [v] منقلا [w] حقههاي اتش [x] دمار

buried all the larger guns, but the light guns, being more useful and available, were sent off to the presence. Although, as soon as they were aware of this assault, the Mahrattas behaved very gallantly in attacking the Nawaub's troops, and trying hard to regain the battery and expel them, still they could effect nothing, and, placing their hands on their heads, they returned hopeless. The commandant having thus conquered his enemies, before the rising of the sun, levelled the trenches and battery with the earth, and, setting fire to the materials, returned to the presence, and was honoured by being addressed by the title of Son by Hydur, and, moreover, received the praise and applause of all ranks.

When Trimuk saw the distressed state of his troops, and their want of confidence, he gave up all thoughts of restoring the battery, and commenced to plunder and devastate that part of the country, which had as yet remained untouched; and, having spread abroad his Pindareh horse, he and his army took up their encampment in the plain of Chuttur; while here, however, on the day of the Hindu Eed, Trimuk with his officers mounted their horses, and came from the eastward of the hill called Kurri Khet, to bathe at the confluence of the two rivers, which is called by the Hindus Sungum, and is near the Lal Baugh. Having received

intelligence of this movement, the Nawaub immediately sallied out of the fort with his troops, and took his station near the Mana Munduf, (or Mundip), and placed his son Tippoo, with all the horse, in ambush near the temples of Kurunkote, (written also Kurun Koor), which are on the other side of the river. The brave commandant, Muhammad Alí, with the gallant Ghazi Khan, and four thousand matchlocks, four hundred Pindarehs, and four guns, for display, and after the manner of scouts, or an advanced guard, were sent to the south of the hill above mentioned. When the cavalcade of the Mahratta Chief arrived at the river, they dismounted, and began to amuse themselves, and swim about in the water; the horsemen of their rear guard following, caracoling and curvetting as they came along. The commandant, in the meanwhile, posted his guns and matchlock infantry in the dry bed of a nullah, or river, and made a concerted sign to Ghazi Khan; and that brave man no sooner saw it than, with two or three hundred tried men, he galloped towards the rear guard, and by tricks and wiles, and teaching the fools how to play the lion, drew them gradually in front of the guns and musketry of the ambuscade, and having brought them there, his whole party suddenly facing about dispersed, and every

one retiring placed himself under cover of the concealed party. The commandant now suddenly charged them, and with the fire of his guns and musketry broke their ranks, and sent a great many to their eternal abodes. In this skirmish, two or three Chiefs of the Mahrattas were killed, and the elephant which carried the flag and kettle drums was also killed. As soon as the body of the enemy's troops became disordered, Ghazi Khan, and Hydur's son, esteeming this a most favourable opportunity, galloped their horse at once into the midst of the fugitives; and, as long as they had strength, withdrew not their hands from spoil and slaughter; following the fugitives half a fursung, taking four or five thousand horses, and two thousand prisoners, and then returning with them, and a great quantity of plunder. The face of Trimuk, on his hearing this intelligence, became yellow; and, in the greatest haste and trepidation, with his clothes wet, and his lips dry, he returned and encamped near the Mooti Talaub, or Tank. The Nawaub manifested great joy at this victory, and, prostrating himself at the threshold of the High and Mighty Bestower of all blessings, returned his thanks, and, beating his drums in honour of his victory, entered the fort. But, to say the truth, the skirmishing and fighting of the brave men of

both armies continued daily; but, for the most part, the Mahrattas were worsted and put to flight. Trimuk, therefore, now put a stop to the fighting, and began to plunder and devastate the country of the Payan Ghaut, that is, the territory in the Nawaub's possession to the southward of Puttun, namely, Koimbetoor, Palghaut, and Dindigul; because he had heard that supplies from those parts, escorted by the Naimars and Mapillas, arrived in the camp of the Nawaub; and, moreover, that levies of horse and foot were made there, and that considerable bodies of these troops had joined the Nawaub's camp. In consequence of this, he raised a storm of mischief in that unfortunate country, and destroyed and desolated it to that degree, that not a root of green herb or blade of grass remained in the earth, all being torn up; and even the branches of the trees of that depopulated waste held out their oppressed hands,[x] to crave mercy from the giver of life. The commanders of forts, however, in that direction, strengthened their posts, and defended and preserved them well.

When Trimuk departed to the Payan Ghaut, the Nawaub prepared to follow him, and had actually planted his colours, and pitched his tents,

[x] Alluding perhaps to the position assumed by the Brahmans when asking alms.

near the hill[y] which has been before mentioned. The commandant, Muhammad Alí, however, represented to him, on this determination, that his quitting his capital at that time was not advisable, lest any treachery or sedition should arise; for, that the enemies of his power were innumerable, while, on the contrary, those friends and servants who were ready to sacrifice their lives for him were few; that he had better take the matter into his deepest consideration; that he, (the commandant), would exert himself to the extent of his ability, and not fail in devoting his life to his service; but that it was necessary Hydur's son, Tippoo, should be left in the Barh Mahl district, with the whole of the cavalry and Kuzzaks or Pindarehs. The Nawaub adopted this advice, and accordingly despatched his son with six or seven thousand horse, all he could collect, to the Barh Mahl; while the commandant, with four thousand regular infantry, two thousand Karnatic foot, and six guns, followed him. The two divisions joined on the Ghaut of Rai Kote, and the Prince (Tippoo), with all his horse encamped in the plain of Kauveri Puttun, while the commandant, Muhammad Alí, with his troops, remained at Kishengiri.

At that time intelligence arrived, that four or

[y] Karighat.

five thousand Mahratta horse, with stores in great quantity, and cattle innumerable, being plunder which they had taken from the army of the Nawaub, and in the country of the Balaghaut and Payanghaut, and accompanied by the bankers of the Mahratta camp, with great store of gold and jewels, had come in obedience to the orders of Trimuk, from the Ghaut of Tuppoor, and passing above the towns of Wanambari and Tripatoor, and across the pass or mountains[z] of Kurunpaut, were marching direct to Poona. As soon as he had heard these tidings, the brave commandant marched, at night, with five hundred regular infantry, two hundred Chittikars,[a] and a thousand irregular foot, by the road of Gungindi Pala, (the Poligar of which was still obedient to the Nawaub); and, descending by the Ghaut of Tubul Pulli, took up a position on the side of a hill, on the road to Kurunpaut, and there halted, despatching the Chittikars to the top of the Ghaut, which belonged to the dependencies of the Názim of Arkat. It is to be observed here, that the Arkat chief was then acting in concert, or secret collusion, with the Nawaub, and that, consequently, the guards at the gates of the Ghauts

[z] کتل

[a] The Chittikars are so called, I believe, from their clothing. Perhaps the tiger-striped cotton.

offered no impediment to their march. The Chittikars, therefore, took possession of the gates of the Ghauts, which were fortified by walls and towers, and, after that, they remained there. It happened, the next day, that the Pindarehs of the Mahrattas, with an immense quantity of baggage, and herds and droves of cattle and horses, came on without any suspicion or apprehension, in truth, like game coming of its own accord to the kitchen to be roasted. The vigilant commandant soon knew of their coming, and immediately sent information to his concealed parties in the Ghaut, while he himself remained in readiness where he was. In the meanwhile, when the Mahrattas advanced nigh the gate of the Ghaut, and their rear guard arrived opposite the hill, where the commandant had stationed himself, he attacked their rear like a furious lion, pouring volley upon volley on them. On hearing this fire, the parties in ambush in the Ghaut, rushing forward, charged them in front, beating their drums, and with the sword and bayonet, made as many holes in the breasts of their antagonists as there is in a bird cage ; while those who attacked in the rear, broke the backs and sides of their enemies with their spears and muskets. When the officers and soldiers of the Mahrattas saw that the road of their safety was as small as the eye of an elephant,

they, in a cowardly manner, without making that resistance which they might have done, and leaving all their baggage, hid themselves in the caves and ravines of the mountain. The commandant now made his two detachments form a junction, and, collecting the baggage and stores of the fugitives, with their horses, and bullocks, and the bags of silver and gold, placed the plunder in loads on the heads of the prisoners, and sent them, by the route of the Ghaut of Tubul Pulli, to Kishengiri, under the escort of the Karnatic infantry. As for himself, he halted where he was, near a pool of water, at the foot of the Ghaut. No sooner, however, had he done so, than a detachment of Mahratta cavalry, which had come up in the rear of the escort and baggage, arrived, and, seeing the small number of his party, instantly surrounded them, and commenced sniping at them from a distance. The commandant had sustained their attack for near two hours, when, taking advantage of the cover given by the hedges and bushes, he got close to the Mahrattas, and gave them such a warm discharge from his musketry, that at once two or three hundred horsemen, horse and man, fell killed or disabled. The rest, pushing their horses, fled as fast as they could, and the commandant, quitting the ground victorious, crossed the Ghaut to Kishengiri.

When Trimuk heard of the plunder and dispersion of his detachment, he discovered that the Ghaut of Kurunpaut was a dependency of the Názim of Arkat, and was therefore surprised how it was possible the troops of the enemy should penetrate there; he consequently inferred that some collusion had subsisted between the two chiefs, that is, Muhammad Alí Khan and the Nawaub, and, further inferred, that in the event, (which he hoped God would forbid,) those chiefs should unite together to attack the Mahrattas, and shut the passes of the mountains, on their route, the honour of the Paishwa might be thereby endangered, and many lives uselessly lost. Trimuk, therefore, made forced marches from that quarter, and, having crossed the Ghaut of Tuppoor, encamped near the town of Ootangiri. The commandant, Muhammad Alí, immediately apprised Tippoo of the arrival of the Mahrattas, and advised him to march to Puttun. As soon, however, as that fortunate and brave young man knew of the rapid march of the Mahrattas, he sent the whole of his baggage and followers, that is, his tents, stores, colours, &c., to Puttun; and he himself, with a body of three or four thousand horse, marched towards Trimuk's force. It happened, on that day, that the Mahratta light troops had foraged to wards Dhurrumpoori, and thrown that neighbour-

hood into great disorder, and had plundered several towns, and were then busy in collecting wood and forage. Tippoo soon joined these men, and affected to collect wood and grass, as they did; but he was looking out for an opportunity, which at last he found. Having made up their loads, the Mahrattas put them on their horses, camels, and elephants, and, without any precaution as to friend or foe, marched towards their own encampment. Tippoo, the moment he was able, threw upon the ground the loads from his horses, and, without delay, stretching forth the hands of manhood, with little trouble, put the Mahrattas into such confusion, that, from the shouts of "kill and take,"[b] fear fell on their hearts, and they saw no remedy but to fly, and save their lives. Tippoo, in consequence, with three or four thousand horses and bullocks, fifty or sixty camels belonging to Trimuk's Tosha Khana, or wardrobe, and fifteen or twenty elephants, with other equipments of the Mahratta army, returned victorious to Puttun. Trimuk, struck with alarm at this attack, marched with his army to Kauveri Puttun, and encamped there. The commandant, however, having on the same night obtained information of the encampment of the Mahrattas, and having his force in readiness, determined to surprise them by an attack

[b] بزن و بکوب

under cover of the darkness, and he marched for that purpose. It happened, that by the time he had arrived near their encampment, the night was spent, and the cock sounded his loud call to attention, and to arouse the lovers of sloth; he, the commandant, therefore, quickly countermarched, and sought refuge in the low ground, near the foot of the mountain of Gugungurh. Trimuk, also, halted during that day where he was; but was still ignorant of the arrival of that lion of the field of valour, who, from the morning to the evening of the same day, passed his time under the cover of the jungul. But at night, when the veil of sleep and forgetfulness was thrown over the world, he, having all in readiness, attacked the left wing of the Mahrattas, and most gallantly captured the whole of their stores and artillery, and released several prisoners, who had been taken in the confusion of the defeat at Churkoli, and were still confined in the Mahratta camp. Having completely dispersed the followers and baggage of the enemy, and set fire to their tents and standards, the commandant, before the rising of the sun, returned with five hundred horses, six elephants, and eleven camels, laden with treasure; and, skirting or keeping close to the hills, entered Rai Kote. He, however, still marched on, and, at night, pro-

ceeded to Anikul, where he had scarcely arrived when Trimuk, having been informed of the presumption of the Nawaub's troops, despatched his light horse in pursuit of them, he himself following. When the commandant arrived at Khan Khanhully, the Mahratta troops had anticipated him, and had occupied and blocked up the roads by which he could pass with safety, and they then surrounded him. The brave commandant, nevertheless, halted all day in a ruined fort, and at night, having lighted fires all over his ground of encampment, and hung up old dirty clothes on the walls and gates, he, with his troops, passing to the rear, through narrow and deep roads, jungul, and over high and low grounds, with much labour, but without the knowledge of the enemy, arrived after his march, on the rear of their picquets. The Mahrattas, meanwhile, seeing the fires, and the white cloths hung upon the gates and walls, thought Hydur's troops still remained in the fort, and without fear left their horses picketted, and were busily occupied in smoking their hookahs, and cooking their victuals. They were thus employed, when, all at once, the commandant, the deceiver of his enemies, arrived on the heads of the picquets, and commenced to fire upon them, and also opened a fire from his

guns, which were loaded with grape. The picquets, although numerous, were soon dispersed; but a body of five or six thousand cavalry, in armour, behaved with the utmost gallantry; for, although the shot from the cannon and musket rained upon them on all sides, so that scarce any one could escape with his life, from the field, they still, with the greatest bravery, gallopped at speed straight into the ranks of their enemies, and fought so desperately, *Verse,* "Yes, men will never clothe themselves in the garb of hermaphrodites,"[c]—that they soon killed and wounded five or six hundred of the commandant's matchlock men. Nevertheless, the fortunate and brave commandant, victorious, with the horses and arms of those that had been slain, and taking his wounded with him, contrived, under the cover of the Makri jungul, to retire safely to Puttun. The remainder of the Mahratta picquets, on account of the darkness of the night, could not come to the assistance of those which were attacked, but fled into their own lines, and informed Trimuk of the plunder and dispersion of his advanced post; and he, being placed in great difficulties by the enterprise and stratagems of the

[c] Whoever bears man's heart within his breast,
Will ne'er like base hermaphrodite be dress'd.

Nawaub's troops, fell into deep reflection, and, leaving his ground of encampment, marched by the route of Munda, towards Milekote. There he encamped, and remained, until the Nawaub, by the advice of the wisest of his counsellors, but extending his views particularly to the advancement of the peace and happiness of mankind, despatched a person, of the name of Apajee Ram as an agent, to arrange the terms of peace with Trimuk, (for it is a saying of the wise,—" True and straightforward men have (often) no choice but to seek the friendship of the crooked."—" The arrow is compelled to obey the bow.")

Trimuk, however, walking in his own conceited proud way, declined making peace; but still kept the Vakeel or agent near him, giving him sometimes a few words of good advice, and frequently boasting of his prowess. The Vakeel wrote all this to the Nawaub; but, after a short time, the Mahratta turned his heart from this country, (Mysore), and, being foiled on every side by the arms of the Nawaub, bent his thoughts on the pillage of Nuggur, a country very wealthy and populous; and, accordingly, he despatched his tents, (Paishkhana,)[d] in that direction. Hydur's agent informed his master of this plan; at the same time advising and press-

[d] پیش خانه

ing him to make some provision for defence in that quarter.

On hearing these tidings, the Nawaub was thrown into deep thought, and sent for the commandant, (Muhammad Alí), apprised him of the intentions of the Mahrattas, and consulted him as to the method by which their design might be defeated. The brave commandant again immediately took the whole responsibility of the expedition on his courage and ability, and rose up to depart; and the Nawaub ultimately sent him forth with six thousand veteran matchlock men, ten guns, and two thousand of his stable[e] horse, to achieve the discomfiture of the Mahrattas.

As soon as he was dismissed, the brave commandant marched, by the route of Periaputtun, to the Koorg Ghaut, named Siddapoor. The Koorg chief, however, having at that time unfurled the standard of rebellion, by treacherously cutting off the heads of the Nawaub's garrison stationed in the fort of Murkera, and taking the whole country into his possession, had occupied the road in force; so that the commandant could not pass that way. The commandant did not consider his involving himself in hostilities with this wild but cunning race,[f] as consistent with his views and convenience, and he

[e] اصطبل

[f] The Koorg people.

therefore retired, and continued his march, leaving the forests of Koorg to the left. Knowing, however, that the passage of troops, with heavy baggage, over mountains and through forests, was difficult, if not impossible, he took with him only four thousand well trained light infantry, and two hundred good horse, and left the rest of the troops, artillery, horse, tents and baggage, under the care of Assud Khan, commandant, and Jehan Khan, Khokur,[g] Risaldár, and, having at night despatched them to the presence, he himself, without guns, and with his small force alone, took post on some high ground.

When the day broke, Trimuk became acquainted with the arrival of the lion commandant in the field, and, being aware of his having sent his artillery to Puttun, he immediately despatched troop after troop of his force, to pursue in that direction, and he himself mounted his horse and followed their track. The scouts or sentinels of the commandant, who were stationed on a small hill, and who had sent out spies in all directions, now reported to their commanding officer, that troops of Mahratta horse were marching on the road by which the artillery on the night before had proceeded. The experienced commandant, the moment he heard this intelligence, gave orders to his men to fire vollies in the air; his object being to attract the enemy to his

[g] A tribe of Afghans.

quarter, that the artillery might arrive unmolested at the Presence; and so it happened, for the Mahratta horse, at the report of the first discharge, immediately returned, and attacked his party. When the commandant had, by his address and ability, drawn off the Mahratta troops to his side, he faced about, and began to retire by easy paces through the jungul of Makri. Before, however, he could attain the skirts of the forest, Trimuk himself arrived; and, with all his horse, surrounded and attacked him, sniping[h] at him and galling him with a distant fire. The commandant had scarcely time to arrange and post his men in ambush, when, all at once, a body of fifty or sixty thousand horse, gallopped on to the charge, and, with sword and spear, engaged rank to rank, and hand to hand. Having warned his men, who, ready formed on their ground, had loaded and were silent, the valiant commandant now gave the word to fire; and the brave and experienced fellows arose and poured such close and heavy vollies[i] on their enemies, that the earth trembled at the shock, and the ears of the heavens, were deafened at the sound.

For two hours the battle raged with the utmost violence; the troops of the commandant advancing and firing; and, from their heavy fire and desperate charges, it is estimated that not less

[h] قراولي [i] شلک

than ten thousand brave fellows of the Mahratta army, slept the sleep of death; for, they fought in such throngs, that they had no room to turn or retreat, and their lives were, therefore, thrown away. About forty or fifty chiefs of note among the Mahrattas were killed on this occasion. The standard and Howda elephants, and camels, bearing the kettle drums, were also killed or wounded by musket balls. (Translation of some verses, from the Shah Nama apparently)—" In that field contested by the brave"—" Strife was awake, and Safety asleep"—" Peace had fled many fursungs away"—" And Fate in the mean time was in the midst (of the throng) doing its own work"—" The road of Life was lost"—" The horseman fell under his horse's hoofs,"—" Death like a shadow fell on every one."—" So fast did the souls of men fly hand in hand, (to Paradise) that even Death bit his hand in grief"—" One shouting take, and kill,"—" The other opening his mouth to wail,"—" The brother bewailing his brother"—" The mother weeping for the blood of her son"—" The father mourning for his son,"—" And the son shedding fast and bitter tears for his uncle and father."—But, to return,—a river of blood flowed from that field, and the Mahrattas sustained a shameful defeat, and they fled so fast that the plain was too narrow for them, and the

Mussulmans, planting their feet firm in the field of honour, remained victorious.

On seeing the condition of his own army, and the intrepidity of the Muhammadans, Trimuk was greatly enraged, and became heated like a horse-shoe in a forge, and having sent for his artillery he established his batteries in front of the Mussulmans, and gave orders to commence firing. His artillery men fired from a considerable distance, but as if firing at a mark; and their balls gave great annoyance to the troops of the commandant, damping their ardour by breaking their arms and legs; so that one hundred and fifty excellent soldiers lost their lives without advantage. But, although it went very near that the discipline and order of the troops were entirely broken, and the page of the book of shame disclosed, still the able commandant, having given the curl of manhood and intrepidity to the moustache of perseverance, arrested the wavering of those who had acquired the properties of quicksilver, and, having calmed and allayed their disorder, he gave orders that those men who were desperately wounded, and the bodies of the slain of the Mahrattas, of whom a great number had fallen, should be dragged together, and piled round his troops like a breastwork. Then, he himself, with his confidence firm,

and a pure faith, performed his ablutions,[k] after which, turning towards the Kibleh, he repeated with a loud voice the Uzan or call to prayer. He next encircled or stockaded his position with branches of trees,[l] and made his men lie down in their ranks. From this time, the saintly influence of the commandant appeared evident; for, after he had repeated the call to prayer, though the Mahrattas fired thousands of cannon shot at his party, all passed over their heads, and injured no one. "If the sword of the world fly out of the scabbard"— "It will not cut a vein except by God's command."[m] In fact, the Mahrattas, by the evening, had expended many Tumbrils of ammunition, but had effected nothing, and could obtain no advantage over this little party. At night, therefore, they drew off their guns, and returned to their encampment, which was about two Fursungs distant.

The commandant, who had so manfully fought, and with his brave companions, had maintained the field without food or water the whole day, and thereby gained so much honour, at night, finding the

[k] تيمم rubbing the face &c. with sand or earth instead of water.

[l] چوب

[m] Though the sword of the world from the scabbard should fly,
Not a vein could it, cut, unless bidden from on high.

coast clear, without fear marched with his men formed in order of battle towards Mysore, leaving all his wounded, whose power of movement had been cut off by the balls of the enemy, on the field of battle, telling them to be of good cheer, for that he would send Doolies[n] for them from Astara, a town on the road to Nuggur. The Mahratta picquets and videttes, on the flank on which they marched, although they were quite aware of his movement, and had mounted their horses, and formed to the right and left of the road, looking on, still offered no opposition to the night travellers; nor did they make any report of their march to Trimuk, but wilfully allowed them to pass, and even extolled their actions as they marched along. When the morning appeared, the foolish Mahratta, posted his guns in the same place they had before occupied, and commenced to fire;—but, when the sun had risen high, and the veil of cowardice was withdrawn from before their eyes, they found the field clear of the Mussulmans, and, running forward, soon obtained information of them from the wounded who were left the ground, and a clear detail of what had occurred the night before. Trimuk, therefore, hastened off to Astara; and the commandant, without opposition from any one, entered the fort of

[n] A kind of litter in which sick men are carried.

Mysore. On the same night the Prince, (Tippoo), with five or six thousand horse, and two or three thousand regular and irregular foot, attacked an escort of the Mahrattas, coming from Poona, consisting of eight thousand horse and ten thousand irregular infantry, conveying an immense supply of stores, provisions, and treasure, which was carried on thirty elephants, a hundred camels, and fifty mules, and accompanied, also, by merchants with gold and jewels of great value, and a supply of ammunition. These men were encamped near Chundraiputtun, perfectly at their ease, and not having the slightest intimation of a night attack, Tippoo, therefore, at once assailed them and put forth the hand of exertion to the slaughter and plunder of the convoy; in such wise, that he did not allow one among them to escape in safety, or fail to take every article of the least value belonging to the Mahrattas, including their treasure; and, this done, he sent them all off to the capital, Puttun, or rather to his illustrious father, while he himself marched towards Nuggur.

On hearing of this exploit, Trimuk let fall the hands of weakness on the earth of despair, and drew his head deep into the collar of reflection, being unable to divine what he should do in the end, or by what means he should subdue the victorious

Mussulmans. While he was in this state of suspense, a pair[o] of Hurkaras[p] brought news from Poona, that Raghoba had murdered his nephew Narayen Rao, and had seated himself on the Musnud, and was making his own arrangements in the government. On receiving this intelligence, Trimuk was immersed in the whirlpool of dismay and affliction, and considered that the best thing he could now do was to make peace; and, therefore, by the medium of the Nawaub's Vakeel, he began to trace his steps in the path of conciliation. He, however, insisted on being paid the expenses of his army; for which he had disbursed Krores[q] of rupees. The astute Vakeel returned for answer, in the words of the Nawaub Bahadúr, that all the wealth of the (Mysore) state was taken at the field of Churkooli; that even the wearing apparel of the Nawaub was presented to the army of the Paishwa, on that occasion; and nothing was left—that the whole of the country had become a grazing field for the Poona horse; that, consequently, the state now, (instead of paying), required assistance; that the profits of present peace would be seen in the future prosperity of the Mysore[r] state; that (the Nawaub hoped) Trimuk by any means would be

[o] جوري Hindi. [p] Letter carriers.

[q] A Krore is ten millions.

[r] The terms used here are ambiguous.

generous enough to return to his own country ; and that he was to consider the increase of the prosperity of Mysore as an increase of his own dignity.

In fine, the offer of such cajoling and fool-deceiving words and the payment of two hundred thousand rupees, having satisfied Trimuk, he released the prisoners of Churkooli and the Nawaub was allowed to remain unmolested. Trimuk now from the pressing circumstances of the time, considering his own safety as victory and conquest, withdrew his garrisons from the forts depending on Seringaputtun, and dismissed his prisoners with presents and honorary dresses; and having appointed Bapojee Sindiah to the government of the Souba of Sura, he commenced his march to Poona; and, from political motives, joined the camp of Raghoba. The Kuzzaks of the Nawaub, however, followed his camp to the river Tungbhudra, and under the cover of the hills and jungles, slew many of the Mahrattas, took many prisoners, and returned with great spoil. After enduring much mortification, and discomfort, Meer Alí Ruza Khan, by the mediation of Nana Furnavees, was allowed to quit the Mahrattas, and again joined the Nawaub, and Gurum Khoondah and Dindigul were again assigned to him in Jageer.

CHAPTER XVII.

The usurpation of Raghoba, the uncle of Narayen Rao, and his invasion of the Balaghaut country; and, at length, his hopeless and fugitive retreat. Also, the conquest by the Nawaub, during this opportunity, of the countries of Badami, Hulihul, Nowulgoondah, Dharwar, &c.; with other events of the year 1183, Hijri, A.D. 1769.

When Narayen Rao was murdered at the instigation of his uncle Raghoo, by the instrumentality of the relations of Muhammad Yoosuf, commandant, Raghoo, who, from the time of the government of Balajee Rao and Madhoo Rao, had been in confinement, seated himself on the Musnud, and made his own arrangements to carry on the government; sending some of the chiefs of the Mahratta state, whom he had attracted to his party, with a large force towards Hydurabad. The Názim[8] of that place although he with his troops and artillery soon entered the field to oppose the invaders, still, from the immense force of the Mahrattas,

[8] The author writes Názim for Nizám, out of contempt.

and because the Moghul soldiers are a motley assemblage of proud, indolent, and effeminate men, could not stand against the Mahrattas in the field, but in one battle was overthrown, and his troops fled, leaving their master at the mercy[t] of the Mahrattas. When he saw that his troops would not fight, but that they fled to their own homes, abandoning their artillery, stores and ammunition, to the enemy, the chief of Hydurabad was obliged to sue for peace, Rooknuddowla, his minister, being unable to carry on the war any longer. Monsieur Raymond, a Frenchman, however, with two thousand regular infantry, and two guns, formed round the body guard and elephant of the Nizám, and, fighting the whole way, safely escorted him to the fort of Budur. Raghoba, nevertheless, still followed him, and besieged the fort, and compelled the Nizám to assign to him in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, the revenues of certain districts, such as Budur, Ourungabad, Berar, &c. He then turned his steps and his views towards the conquest of the Balaghaut, or the country belonging to the Nawaub, and marched thither. During this time, Furnavees, the prime minister at Poona, who had remained at the capital, pretending to be sick, now forming a deep plan, secretly wrote to the Nizám

[t] The Author says they left him in the hands of the Mahrattas.

of Hydurabad, that Raghoba, being insane and instigated by an insatiable desire to obtain wealth and rule, had murdered his own brother's son, who was the rightful heir to the musnud, or throne of that country, and had himself usurped the chief authority, and that it was desirable the Nizám should unite with the Mahrattas, and put him out of the way. He also wrote and despatched letters in the same strain, to the Nawaub. The Nawaub, with his newly reformed army, was holding himself in readiness, and looking out for times and opportunities, when the minister above mentioned wrote also to the chiefs of the Mahratta government, who in the dialect or language of their nation are called Putkuh,[u] and who from policy had accompanied Raghoba; that, they might be sure the sinner Raghoba had smeared the blood of his nephew on the forehead of his own condition,[v] and that he had hung round his neck the Zoonnar, (or Braminical cord,) of infamy and shame, and was now dark and entirely reckless. It was therefore, he said, only consistent with their loyalty that they should unite and take revenge on him; that the wife of the murdered Narayen Rao was with child, and should be considered as the sovereign and heir to the go-

[u] پتکه

[v] Alluding to the custom of the Brahmins, who mark their foreheads with sandal, and a red powder, to denote their caste and sect.

vernment, and that they should not turn aside from her authority; and that it was evident what worldly advantages they might expect from a man who acted so barbarously to his own nephew. The Mahratta chiefs, with the army, when they were acquainted with the contents of this letter, became satisfied that no one could ever be profited by a connection with Raghoba, and therefore every day some one of them, with his contingent, returned without Raghoba's knowledge to Poona; and, besides this, troops of his best soldiers left the camp under the pretence of joining the picquets, or out guards, and thence returned to their homes. In fact, Raghoba's army in marching from Budur, to Rai Droog, to which place they had proceeded by the route of Gopul, Bahadúr Bundah, and Kunukgiri, was completely disbanded, except the Kuzzaks or Pindarahs, a body whom he had himself collected, and which amounted to about thirty thousand men, and they were the only troops remaining with him. When Raghoba saw that so much disaffection had crept into his camp, that the key to the authority of the government was lost; that the chief of Hydurabad, according to the hint given him by Nana Furnavees, was also actively occupied in collecting troops, and military stores; also, that, the Poona Chiefs, who had separated them-

selves from his army, had united with an intention to punish him, were actually following him like a hawk pursuing a partridge ; and lastly, that the road of safety was closed, and the field of murder, and rapine wide open ; he became uneasy and perplexed, and began to seek the path of accommodation with the Nawaub. He therefore despatched a Vakeel, with a request for aid, and for the Chouth, or fourth part of the revenue of Mysore. The Nawaub, however, seeing his actual necessities, and the disordered state of his affairs, declined to grant his requests ; and, in apology, urged the ruined state of the country, and the plunder and destruction of his property and resources, and wrote plainly, in answer, that he must be excused from agreeing to any such measures. Raghoba, however, from policy again sought his protection, and offered the whole of the Souba of Sura ; and not only that, but declared that the whole of the country on this side of the river Kishna, to Badami, Jali Hulli, &c., should be given up to the Nawaub's officers ; but for this, the Nawaub was to furnish, by any means in his power ten Lakhs of rupees. As the Nawaub lent a willing ear to this proposition, Raghoba despatched his half brother, Bajee Rao, with three hundred horse, to withdraw the garrison from the fort of the Souba of Sura.

When this chief arrived there, he forwarded Raghoba's letter to Bapojee Sindiah, the governor, requiring the fort to be delivered up. Bapojee, however, got the guns of the fort in readiness, and sent for answer, that Raghoba was the murderer of his nephew, and what power or authority had a foolish, unfortunate man, like him, to issue orders to the officers of the Chief of the Poona State, that is, to the children of Balajee Rao Nana ;—and that if the messengers wished to preserve their lives, they had better take themselves off, as if they did not, he would blow every ungrateful rascal among them from the mouth of a gun. On hearing this sturdy message, Bajee Rao, losing all courage, took the road to Seringaputtun, where he was introduced to the Nawaub Bahadúr, and represented to him the measures necessary for the conquest of the Souba Sura &c. ; and, in consequence, the prince, (Tippoo), was sent with him, accompanied by a large force.

At this very time, letters to the Nawaub arrived from the minister, above-mentioned (Furnavees), to the effect—" that he was on no account to move or act on the deceitful words of the murderer of his nephew, namely Raghoba ; that please God, after the punishment of that wicked man, all arrangements relative to the brave Nawaub's possessions and dig-

nity would be settled by the Chief and ministers of Poona on a sure footing (this part is rather obscure) and that, even now, the Nawaub was to consider the punishment of that villain Raghoba as incumbent on him."

The Nawaub therefore, in compliance with the request of the minister, marched with a large force from his capital, and encamped at Chundrai Puttun. Tippoo, on leaving his father had marched, with the Rao before mentioned, to Sura, where he found the Killadár ready for action. But having thrown up batteries, and attacked the works, he in two or three months took the fort, and, leaving a garrison there, moved on quickly to Mud Giri, and in four days finished the conquest of the fort of that place, and made all necessary arrangements. He then proceeded to Chundrai Droog, which he besieged, and, at the end of a month, by a gallant attack on the place, he took it.

The Nawaub having marched from Chundrai Droog, proceeded by slow stages to Tumkoor; when Raghoo, seeing the field of prosperity and safety closed against him on all sides, hearing of the warlike demonstrations of the Nawaub Bahadúr, his neglecting to send the money required of him, and the capture of his forts by the bravery of the Prince (Tippoo) and being grieved to the heart by

these accounts, he saw no remedy but to fly, and save his life as best he could. He, therefore, with the troops he had present, about sixteen thousand horse, commenced his return, bootless, and wound, like a black snake, his devious way to Hindustan through the mountainous and woody parts of the country; the troops of Poona and Hydurabad following him successively to Boorhanpoor, and from that to Khandees, and Gujurat.

The Nawaub, considering this opportunity very fortunate, now marched on, and, without the least opposition from any one, took possession of Gopul, Bahadúr Bunduh, Mondergi Droog, Gujindur Gurh, &c., all belonging to the Mahrattas. Some of the Talookas and forts were taken by force of arms; but mostly they surrendered from fear. He also collected Paishkush from all the Poligars of that neighbourhood; and, having honoured the Poligar of Surhutti with a Khilut and presents, he left the charge of that quarter to his management, and, marching on, in a very short time made conquests of Nowul Goondah, Jalli Hulli, and Badami; and, at length, arrived near Hoobli and Dharwar.

It is not to be concealed here, that, in former time, that is, after the conquest of Nuggur, the Nawaub, by management or stratagem, but according to the desire of Meer Rustam Khan Farooki, the

governor on the part of Asof Jah, took possession of Dharwar, and stationed a garrison of his own in it, giving the Meer above mentioned according to his rank, five hundred rupees a month, and afterwards the office of Bukshi, or paymaster of horse. When, however, Madhoo Rao marched towards the Balaghaut, he took this place, and retained it in his possession. The Nawaub Bahadúr now promised the Killadár, whose name was Biswunt Rao, a relation of Gopal Rao, the Chief of Mirch, certain Jageers and Inams, or presents, if he would give up the fort, but he, not agreeing to this proposition, the fort was besieged, and a fire commenced on it from a distance. While the siege was proceeding, Hydur formed a deep plan to take the fort; and, on the third night, he sent for a pair of Hurkaras of the Mahratta tribe, inhabitants of Mirch, who were acquainted with the names of the chief persons there, and with the Mahratta dialect, and ordered a letter to be written, as from the minister of the chief of the Mirch state, who, at that time was Soobrao Tatia, the elder brother of Purusram Bhao; but he having followed in pursuit of Raghoba, his agent, a man named Appaja Rao was in charge. The letter was to this effect :—" That information had been received that Hydur Alí Khan Bahadúr, with a strong force, had arrived at Dhar-

war, and that he intended to make a conquest of that place. It was therefore necessary that he, the Killadár, should perform well the duties of his station, and exert himself to repel the enemy, that relief should soon be sent, and that, until the arrival of this aid he was to take care he was not betrayed." When the letter was written, it was placed in a cover, and, the seal of Appajee Ram, one of the Nawaub's own servants being affixed, it was then forwarded on. Having changed their dresses, the Hurkaras entered the fort, and detailing the circumstances as from the agent of the Mirch state, presented the letter, promising aid. The commandant of the fort, at the contents of this letter, was highly pleased, and repaired and strengthened the walls and towers, and remained ready for the attack.

Three or four days after, the Nawaub selected two Risalas of foot and three hundred horse, from his Mahratta and Rajpoot soldiers, and, clothing them like Mahrattas, sent them on the road from Mirch towards the fort, and, encircling this detachment, the Nawaub appointed a separate body of troops, to fire at them from their guns and musketry, without ball. When the report of the firing was heard by the garrison, they were much (rejoiced that the aid which they expected had arrived,) and opened the gates of the fort in readi-

ness to receive their friends. The officer commanding Hydur's troops above mentioned accordingly entered the fort, and requested the Killadár to assemble his men in one place, and put them under his authority, that they might be in readiness to make a sortie at night, on the enemy and put them to the rout ; and he also required that his (Hydur's) men should be stationed on the walls and at the gates, as they had travelled and were fatigued. The foolish Killadár did as he was directed, that is to say, he assembled all his men in one place. The experienced officer (Hydur's) having now sent a few matchlock men to different parts of the walls they made signs to the horsemen outside the fort, who immediately dismounted, and leaving their horses, ran on and laid hold on the Killadár, whose hands they tied behind his back; and then, having seized the arms of the garrison, they made prisoners of every one of them. The fort having been thus, by the felicitous fortune of the Nawaub, taken without opposition, his brave officer, after returning thanks to God, the giver of all gifts, fired a salute in honour of his success; and the Nawaub, hearing the guns, became certain that the fort had fallen into the hands of the Khodadad Sirkar. The next morning, therefore, he came to the fort, and having made the requisite arrange-

ments, (for the good keeping of his conquest) he returned to his tents.

Having thus in one year taken all these forts and districts, he placed in all the hill forts strong garrisons, with brave officers, to command them, and able civilians, to fill their respective departments. He also settled accounts with all the Poligars of that quarter, and collected from them an immense amount. Of this, however, he sent, by his Vakeel, five Lakhs of rupees, and some valuable presents, to the minister Furnavees, at Poona, to remove any bad impressions or feeling which might have arisen from his taking possession of the country; and then, victorious, he returned to Seringaputtun.

Bajee Rao, the half brother of Raghoo, was now sent for by the Nawaub, who told him that, if he wished, he might have permission to go to any place he chose; but Bajee Rao, aware of the unfortunate condition of his brother, and knowing that all the Ameers of Poona, and the Moghul chiefs of Hydurabad, were the inveterate enemies of him and his family, and were seeking their destruction by all the means in their power, and seeing, therefore, that he had no asylum but the Nawaub, and that his safety and prosperity in all respects were centered in him, said in reply, that he hoped the Nawaub would consider him as one of his old servants, and

employ him in some office, that he might have an opportunity of shewing his attachment, by his devotion to his service. The Nawaub, therefore, having cast an eye of compassion on this poor man, raised him to the command of five hundred horse, and gave him an elephant, Howdah, and standard, and enrolled him among his old servants.

About this time, a Brahman, named Poornea, who was in a low station, as a servant to a certain banker, named Andan Sheth, at an allowance of two Hoons, (Pagodas) a month, and who being a good accountant in the Kinhiri, (Canara) language, was also employed in some way connected with the Tosha Khana, and whose method of keeping the accounts had pleased the Nawaub, was taken from the service of the banker, and placed in charge of the Duftur[w] of the Kinhiri accounts, with a competent salary. Kishen Rao, also a Brahman, had charge of the Hindi or Mahratta Duftur, and these two together kept in good order the accounts of the receipts and disbursements in the Tosha Khana and treasury.[x]

As the Nawaub, after his return from his last expedition, employed himself in collecting arms and stores of all descriptions, and also in raising horse and foot, in a very short time, he collected and kept

[w] Account book. [x] خزانه عامره

ready in a very perfect degree the means of attack and defence ; for troops of brave and experienced soldiers, with horses and arms complete, flocked to his victorious standard, where they were entertained in his service, and placed in the receipt of pay according to their merits. His Dustahs that is, his stable horse, or household cavalry, became in appearance like a Gul Dustah, (a handful of roses) ; his matchlock-men, or infantry, were clothed in red, yellow, green, or black broad cloth ; and near a thousand head of camels, taken from the Mahratta army, were trained to carry swivels.[y] He had also two or three thousand select cavalry, intelligent and brave men, clad in complete armour. His irregular infantry, blood-drinkers, were assembled from every country. He had, moreover, twenty thousand horse, and sixteen thousand regular infantry, with nearly forty thousand Karnatic foot, and having these always ready for service, he remained free from apprehension. The noise of his victories, and the destruction of his enemies, resounding through all parts of the world, troops of brave men, well equipped and mounted, flocked to him, not only from Hind, and the Dukhun, but even from Iraun and Tooraun ; and, giving them high pay, he retained them in his service.

[y] شترنال

CHAPTER XVIII.

An account of the encroachments or usurpations of the English in the country of the Karnatic Payanghaut, by the instrumentality of Muhammad Alí Khan, Surajuddowla; and the detail of the war commenced by the Chief of the Dukhun, Nizám Alí Khan, in concert with the Nawaub, Bahadúr. Also, a description of the battles fought between the English, and the courageous Nawaub, in the commencement of the year 1185, Hijri.—A. D. 1771.

When Muhammad Alí Khan, the Soubadár of Arkat, after the murder of his father and the Nawaub Násir Jung, was besieged in the fort of Nuthur Nuggur, (Trichinopoly,) and Hussein Dost Khan, otherwise called Chunda Sáhib, aided by the Frenchmen of the port of Pondicherri, was endeavouring to take that fort; the besieged Khan sought and obtained succour from the chiefs of Mysore, and the governor of the port of Devna Puttun;[z] and by their assistance gained the victory over his enemies; and the head of Chunda Sáhib was gratuitously given to the winds. The Chief of

[z] Fort St. David, I believe.

Mysore having been driven away by the violation of the treaty made with him by Muhammad Alí, as has been before related, the latter, by the help of the English, conquered the French, and took the city of Pondicherri. Having then without opposition completed the reduction[a] of Arkat, Muhammad Alí plundered all the Munsubdárs and Jageerdárs of that Souba, belonging to the Nowayut tribe, raised the standard of independence, and rebelled against the Nizám of Hydurabad.[b] Now, therefore, when the Nizám was relieved from the conflict with Raghoo and his pursuit,—that Prince considering that, as Muhammad Alí Khan had rebelled against him, and by the powerful aid of the English had usurped the country and wealth of the Karnatic Payanghaut, it was necessary to punish him, but knowing, also that he could not alone contend with the troops of Surajuddowla and the English combined, he desired that, by the aid of the Nawaub Bahadúr, he might be enabled to displace Muhammad Alí, and take possession of the Karnatic himself. After having consulted with his Chiefs upon the subject, and framed his plans for this end, he wrote to the Nawaub, setting forth that a body of English merchants, through the medium of the

[a] بواقعي

[b] These statements are not very clearly expressed in the original.

rebellious Souba of the Karnatic, had taken into their heads a vain desire of chieftainship and rule, and had fearlessly raised the standard of usurpation in that quarter; and that his, the Nizám's desire was, that, in conjunction with that pride of the house[c] of power and good fortune, (meaning Hydur,) they should regain the country which had been thus lost. The Nawaub lent a willing ear to these proposals, and with his troops remained ready for service. In the mean time, the Nizám with his army marched to Adhoni, and, taking his brother, Busálut Jung, with him proceeded by the road of Kurpa Kurnoul to Cheenputtun.

Another historian has, however, related this occurrence in a different manner He states, that Muhammad Alí Khan Surajuddowla, when he heard of the prowess and discipline of the Nawaub's troops, and the promptitude of his military equipments, became perplexed and uneasy, and regarding the spring of the Nawaub's fortunes as the autumn of his own prosperity, and moreover, apprehensive that the affair of Trichinopoly, where he had so grossly violated his faith, still rankled like a thorn in the breast of the Nawaub, and, God forbid! lest he should consequently, turn his views towards Arkat, and with the energy of the Khodadad, seize his country and wealth; he, (Muhammad Alí), therefore, intimated his wish to the En-

[c] خاندان Family.

glish, that the governor of Madras, otherwise Chenaputtun, should send a Vakeel with a body of troops to Hydurabad, and persuade the Nizám to undertake the conquest of the Balaghaut; and they, in consequence, having done this, prevailed so far with the Nizám, that he suddenly marched with a large force towards that province. His secret plans, however, were, that he would first meet the Nawaub Bahadúr, and ascertain his views, and, under the contingency of favourable opportunity, if he, the Nawaub, should be daunted by his warlike manifestations, he might then seize upon his territory, and retain it in his own hands; and if not, still, that he the Nizám might be able to operate advantageously in the destruction of his rebel Soubadár. He, however, still kept the English troops in his suite; but, Monsieur Raymond, his servant, with two thousand matchlock infantry was always present with him.

But, to return—when the Nizám raised his tent in the plain of Chenputtun,[d] he sent for the Nawaub to visit him; but, although the Nawaub, also, with his army and artillery, had encamped eastward of Muddoor, (a short distance from Chenputtun), still as he considered that his meeting with the Nizám

[d] Chinaputtun and Madoor are in the Mysore territory, Lat. 12.30 North.

should be deferred to another time, he sent his son, (Tippoo), with a well appointed force ; Meer Alí Ruza Khan, Mukhdoom Sáhib, Meer Ismail Sáhib, Ghazi Khan, Muddoo Khan, &c., all of whom were experienced officers being appointed to accompany him. Five elephants, and ten beautiful horses, were sent likewise as presents.

When the Prince arrived near the Nizám's tent, the crash of the drums and kettle drums of his body guard struck fear to the ears of the Nizám, who, ascending a balcony on his tent, saw and admired (nevertheless) the pomp and parade of Tippoo's cavalry escort; and the discipline and order of his troops. The Nizám, after that, received him with great liberality and kindness, and, having gained his heart by honied words and phrases, addressed him by the title of Nuseebuddowla,[e] and, casting his plans and schemes, aside, consulted him on the feasibility of chastising Muhammad Alí Khan, the Soubadár of Arkat, and the English ; and then dismissed him, with the present of a Khilaut, and the shawls the Nizám himself wore.

Tippoo now returned to his father, and, on his arrival, related with minute exactness every word spoken by the Nizám on this occasion. Agreeing in the objects and wishes of the Nizám, the Nawaub

[e] The fortune of the State.

Bahadúr marched on with his army, and the Nizám giving the English their dismission, sent them off. These two powerful chiefs now united, and having passed the Barh Mahl district, they encamped on this side the pass of Chungum, where, on the opposite side, at the same time arrived also a Colonel Hewit,[f] or Howard, an English officer with a body of five thousand regular infantry, and a thousand soldiers,[g] or Europeans, to secure the pass against the Nawaub, and this officer had taken up his quarters in a small fort, on the other side of the pass of Chungum. As soon, therefore, as the two Chiefs had received information of the arrival of the English army, they dispatched a force in advance, to besiege the above mentioned fort. This force accordingly marched in the night, and surrounded the English troops, stationing themselves as scouts or reconnoitering parties, and then began plundering and killing the stragglers, and followers, of the English troops. When the colonel became aware of the great strength of the combined armies, he acted according to the saying, "Whosoever strikes his naked hand on steel,"—"is sure to bruise his knuckles;"[h] and, seeing that

[f] Written هویت [g] سوجر [h] ساعد

Who strikes with naked hand the steel,
His knuckles sorely bruised shall feel.

his stay there was not advisable, he the same night marched on the route to Turnamul. The Chiefs of the advanced guard immediately sent to their masters an account of the Colonel's march; and, on receiving this intelligence, the Nizám and Hydur immediately followed him. At the distance of two Fursungs, (about seven miles,) from their encampment, the Nuwaub, who had hastened his march, overtook the English troops, and commenced on them a fire of cannon, from different points. The Colonel, nevertheless, having taken up his ground on the slope or skirt of the hills, halted there, and with his guns and musketry broke the heads and necks of his assailants until the evening; and, however, great and vigorous were the efforts and exertions of Hydur's and the Nizám's troops, to plunder and destroy this detachment, they were of no avail. The English troops, however, suffered much from want of water, and many were killed by the continual shower of cannon balls which fell on them. At night, therefore, the Colonel above mentioned, with his troops, in order of battle, proceeded to Turnamul, and the two Chiefs, Hydur and the Nizám, encamped on the river of Kilpauk, whence they pushed forward strong outposts on all sides of the English troops.

The Nizám now, after a consultation with Rukn-

uddowla, sent a message to the Nawaub Bahadúr, desiring that he should despatch a body of his own troops, well acquainted with the country, to plunder, and lay waste the Souba of Arkat, and the vicinity of Chinaputtun, (Madras), &c. and likewise, to collect cattle, and provisions; that they might strike fear and dismay into the hearts of Muhammad Alí Khan, and the English. Although, in time of need, the Nawaub did not mind attacking a wild elephant, still he did not relish this division of his army; the Nizám, however, was so importunate and troublesome in this matter, and used words so exciting, and was, besides, so infatuated in his opinion of his own troops, that at length he prevailed, and brought the Nawaub to consent to despatch his cavalry, regular and irregular infantry, and light guns, under the command of his son (Tippoo), selecting, to accompany him, Meer Alí Ruza Khan, Mukhdoom Sáhib, Muhammad Alí, commandant, Ghazi Khan, &c. Chiefs of note,—and he was acccordingly despatched to that quarter; the Nawaub leaving himself but few troops,—that is to say, five or six hundred horse of his own stable,[1] two thousand regular infantry, four thousand foot, and his artillery; but all ready for action. Hybut Jung was nominated to the command of the troops remaining

[1] خاص کوتل

with the Nawaub. The Nawaub, however, at that time had not let fall the reins of caution; and, as he had no confidence at all in Rooknuddowla, and the other Chiefs of the Moghul army, wherever he encamped he surrounded his encampment with a stockade, or an abattis,[j] and to this defence he directed there should be four gates or roads, on each of which he stationed strong guards and artillery.

When the English officer arrived at Turnamul, he detailed the strength of the combined armies, (Hydur's and the Nizám's), and their numerous artillery, to the government of Madras; and General Smith, a brave and able officer, who was then employed in urgent duties near Nuthur Nuggur, (Trichinopoly,) was despatched, by the governor of Madras, to oppose the Nizám and Hydur, with four thousand regular infantry, eight hundred Europeans,[k] three thousand horse of the Souba of Arkat, four thousand Karnatic foot, and a great quantity of provisions and stores; and he proceeded, by forced marches, by the route of Runjun Gurh, and arrived at Turnamul. When these two Sirdárs or officers, blood-drinkers,[l] met and made themselves acquainted with the strength and description of the Nawaub's and Moghul armies, they did not estimate the Moghul army at the value of a grain of barley. After

[j] خاربند [k] هوجر [l] خونخوار

having halted for a week, they formed their troops, and marched on, straight forward, without deceit or guile, like lions, to attack the combined armies; firing their guns as they moved on. The Nawaub, with the same number of troops that remained with him occupied his ground of encampment, and directed his artillery men to open their fire on their enemies. The Nizám, in the meanwhile, had stationed hinself on the right flank of the English troops, and was firing away with his guns, without aim or object. His horse, also, in number like ants, or locusts, surrounded the English army in clusters. The English officers, however, by their penetration and experience, soon perceiving that the Nawaub had arranged his troops in the best order and position possible, and had kept his ground firmly, and that the Moghul army, like a herd of timid deer, was standing about without order, now, with a view to deceive their opponents, advanced quickly from the flank, and immediately charged the Nizám's body guard, giving them several quick discharges from the guns, and, with very little fighting, completely routed them, and took the whole of their cattle, stores and artillery, with the tents, standards, and Bazar of their camp. Spiritless and ashamed, the Nizám now quitted the field, and retreated, venting his spleen in cursing

the want of judgment shewn by his Dewaun, Rookn-uddowla, and the rest of his Ameers and Khans. His troops, who had never been engaged in a hard fought or well contested battle, left their master to his fate, and, like a flock of sheep at the sight of a wolf, were so scattered, that even round the elephant of the Nizám, scarcely two thousand horse remained. On witnessing this want of colour, the Nawaub bestowed many maledictions on the female relations[m] of the runaways, and ordered his artillery off quickly to Singar Peeth; but he himself remained on the field with ten light guns. The English officers having completely plundered the Moghul camp, now returned to attack Hydur. The brave Nawaub, dragging off his guns, and fireing, and retiring step by step, halted and fought, occasionally, at different points on his route. The Nizám, at length, arrived at Singar Peeth, where he encamped; and the Nawaub, sorely displeased at the irregularity and disorder of the Moghul army, pitched his tents at the distance of a fursung from them; while the English General and his troops, victorious, encamped on the battle field. The Nawaub now quickly despatched his camel riders and Hurkaras, (messengers,) with letters, to his son Tippoo, who had been plundering the country in

m برننک و ناموس

the environs of Madras, commanding him to return. He, also, sent a message to the Nizám, to the effect,—that the expectations formed of his, the Nizam's, brave troops and the ability and experience of his Ameers and officers, had been well proved, in as much that, in time of need, not a thousand men with their arms, nor one Ameer of respectability had remained with the stirrup—*i. e.* the Nizám; that with such troops therefore, strong only in numbers and shew, it was evident they could never expect to conquer the stormy, warlike, English;[n] that the wisest course to be followed, was, that the Nizám should encamp at Kaveriputtun; and he, (Hydur,) his particular friend, by every art and device which knowledge could supply, would oppose and defeat the English, and put them to flight. The Nizám followed his advice, and accordingly marched from this place, and encamped at the said town of Puttun.

In the meanwhile, until the arrival of his son, the Nawaub moved about in the vicinity of Singar Peeth, Barh Mahl, and Ootangiri, and when Tippoo arrived, with all the officers and troops, and great store of provisions and cattle, the Nawaub was freed from all thought and apprehension; and, having ranged his right and left wings in order of battle, he remained in readiness for action. At this

[n] انكريز طوفان انكيز

time, the Nizám, sending his Ameers to Hydur, begged with great importunity that he would visit him ; and, although the Nawaub in his heart was unwilling to accede to his request, yet to keep on friendly terms with him, he marched with his army, and they met, and embraced and conversed together. They then consulted how they were to overcome their strong enemy, and the Nawaub, seeing on the forehead of the Nizám the signs of grief for the late defeat, essayed to comfort him, and said, with a view to his encouragement, that victory and defeat came from God ; that similar mischances had often befallen kings and princes of great renown, who, nevertheless, had attained the very highest ranks of fame for strength of mind and courage ; and that it was only consistent with the character of Chieftainship, that he should not allow the rust of doubt and despondency to rest on the clear mirror of his heart, nor permit the dust of shame or regret to stick to the skirt of his intentions and projects.° That he recommended therefore that with the care and caution worthy men of rank and station, he, the Nizám, should march with his army to Huskote ; and he, Hydur, his well-wisher, by policy and management would subdue his enemies, and conquer the Karnatic Payanghaut in the best and easiest manner. The Nizám agreed to this proposal

° A verse omitted.

and marched towards Huskote. Rooknuddowla, however, his minister, with Manuvvur Khan, Kurnooli, Ismail Khan, Elichpoori, Rai Rumba, and twenty thousand horse, were attached to the Nawaub, and remained with him.

The Nawaub now, with his own troops, and accompanied by Rooknuddowla, crossed the Ghaut of Tubul Pulli, and besieged Amboor Gurh, which was held by an English garrison, and left no means untried to take the place. Khaki Shah, a Fuqeer, a companion and friend of the Nawaub's, was here killed by a cannon shot from the fort. As soon as the Chiefs of the English army became aware of the siege they advanced by forced marches, by the route of Karnatic Gurh, Dhoby Gurh, Kylas, and Pulli Koonda, to Amboor. The Nawaub, therefore, when he heard of the arrival of the English troops, raised the siege, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Vud Cheri and Bapun Pilli.

The English officers halted for one day at Amboor Gurh, and, on the next, advanced to attack the Nawaub. As soon as they approached near to his army, he placed his cavalry under the command of his son, Tippoo, and forming the right wing, and committing his left to the command of Rooknuddowla, and others, he posted himself in the centre with his artillery, his bravest senior officers, and

Muhammad Alí commandant. In the meantime, the English officers, by their skill comprehending the Nawaub's disposition of his army, despatched one battalion and two companies of soldiers, (Europeans) with two guns, to attack Rooknuddowla; and two battalions of natives, and a risala or regiment of Frengis, (also Europeans), with four guns to attack Tippoo; and the general, (Smith,) himself, marched straight forward to attack the centre or main body. In a moment, the flames of mortal strife blazed forth, and the brave mussulmans, steady as rocks, planted their feet firmly on the ground; and, from vollies of artillery and musketry, they passed rapidly to the active employment of the sword and spear, hand to hand. *Verses*.[p] "The fire of rage seized both the right and left wings,"—"The world again saw the tempest of Noah."—"On every side glittering poisonous spears,"—"like the eye lashes and glances of the languishing fair."—"From the bloody darts or spears flashing in the sun,"—"the heart became like the Ruby Mountain of Budukshan."—"From the blood of the brave, and the dust of the army,"—"the earth became red, and the sky black."[q] The troops of Rooknuddowla, however,

[p] Battle of Dhoby Gurh.

[q] Then, upon both the wings the fire of rage
Seized, and the world such tempest saw once more
As that of Noah's days. On every side

from the attack of one battalion, and a few shot from their guns, cowardly gave up their ground, and did not draw breath until they arrived at Wanum Bari. But, before the English could defeat the main body, Tippoo, with his victorious horse, had charged them several times, and then attacked their rear guard,[r] (Chundawul), which was commanded by two Jamadárs, named Ibrar Khan, and Asrar Khan, and consisted of three thousand horse and four thousand foot, having in charge stores of provisions and cattle collected by them; and, like a lion springing on a herd of deer, he fell upon this body, and sunk the boats[s] of their existence in the whirlpool of eternity. A deadly shock was thereby given to this force, and the whole were dispersed, and put to flight; the military reputation of the officers above mentioned was destroyed; tents, standards, loads of baggage, grain, &c. were burned, and several officers and soldiers of the English

The glittering poisonous spears were, quivering, seen,
Like glances and eye lashes of the fair,
Who softly languishes. From darts and spears,
Ensanguin'd, flashing in the sun, the heart
Assumed the semblance of the ruby mount
Of Budukshan. From blood of heroes spilt,
And clouds of dust raised by contending foes,
Red did the earth become, and black the skies.

[r] چنداول

[s] This confusion of images is contrary to Asiatic rule.

army taken prisoners, with their horses and palankins; and, having effected this, Tippoo returned. On seeing this condition of affairs, the General to preserve his cattle and baggage, instantly halted.[t] The Nawaub Bahadúr, in speed outstripping the lightning, now fell upon the battalion sent to pursue Rooknuddowla; and, in one irresistible charge, overthrew it, and, with such spoil as had fallen into his hands, returned to Wanum Bari. Tippoo, also, returned victorious, and rejoined the Nawaub's force. The English officers and army remained on the field of battle.

The Nawaub now sent for Rooknuddowla, and made him listen to a bitter expostulation; for he told him that, without doubt, his companions were fine fellows for shewing their heels, and, therefore, it was better that he and his city champions should return to his master, seeing that, by the exertions of such men, he, the Nawaub, could never expect to see the face of victory, and God forbid that the contagion of their cowardice, or want of manhood, should, by association and companionship infect his gallant fellows, and cast their courage and enterprise to the winds. As Rooknuddowla in reply, repeated his boasting and did not wish to go away, it was settled that he should always

[t] برگشت Ceased his pursuit, according to Marriott.

encamp at the distance of half a Fursung, (two miles), from Hydur's army, and that none of his men should enter Hydur's camp; but, in case of need, messages should be sent by Hurkaras.

But, to return—after four days, the English officers, with their army, marched towards Wanum Bari. The Nawaub, on this, quitted his encampment, and the first day encamped at Tripatoor, the next day, he marched with his troops and artillery, and pitched his tents near Kavuri Puttun, in a plain, surrounded by a plantation of Saul trees[u] and a marsh or deep mud. Here he threw up round his army, four batteries, or redoubts, and mounted guns in them. Rooknuddowla was stationed outside the limits of his camp. The English General now left the troops attached to the Colonel, (Hewitt), in charge of Wanum Bari and Tripatoor, and he himself encamped on the slope of a hill, at the distance of one measured Fursung from the army of the Nawaub. The outposts[v] of the Nawaub, however, pressed the English army closely on the flanks, and on one side, the horse of Rooknuddowla were stationed to guard the road. At night, however, General Smith, intending to make a nocturnal attack, got his troops in readiness, and marched by

[u] Saul is a tree, the wood of which is used in building ships, &c.

[v] طلایه or طلایعه Signifies scouts or reconnoitring parties.

the very road which was held by the *brave*[x] picquets of Rooknuddowla; and, although these troops were fully aware of what was going on, they gave no intelligence to the Nawaub, neither did they make any opposition, but on the contrary retired out of their enemy's reach—"Not every woman is a woman, nor every man a man."—"God has not made the five fingers of the same length,"[y] until the time when the General, with much exertion, had arrived near the camp of the Nawaub. From the ignorance of his guides, however, his troops had been led among the Saul trees, and into the marsh or mire; so that his guns had stuck fast in the mud, and they had all been much delayed and distressed, and by this time the harbinger of morning, the cock, sounded his awakening call to the sleeping army, that is, the dark night suddenly broke into the light of the morning, and the soldiers, awakening in the batteries of the Nawaub, began to pour forth such a fire from their guns, and other arms, as soon made the Saul plantation like a bed of spring roses, with the blood of the English troops wading through the mud; and at the same moment, also, the picquets of the Nawaub arrived

[x] Ironically brave.

[y] نه هر زن زن است نه هر مرد مرد
خدا پنج انگشت یکسان نکرد

in their rear, treading on their heels, and, with arrows and musketry, made the red coats drink the red wine of death.

The same night, having concerted and taken the path of union with the English, Rooknuddowla made a treaty with them; and although he on one side was all in readiness, pretending to give aid to the Nawaub, yet, in fact, he was only looking out for an opportunity, to attack and plunder his army. The Nawaub, therefore, who had before heard that his conduct shewed evidently a siding with the English, being now confirmed in his opinion by the circumstance of his being in readiness, and yet giving to the Nawaub no warning or information of the night attack, clearly perceived that he and his troops were changing sides, and he, therefore, ordered to Payindah Khan Bukhturi, Risaldár, to advance with his Risala, and fire a few cannon shot at him, by way of congè, and that drove him away. The General, (Smith), in despair, now wheeled about, and returned to his own ground of encampment.

CHAPTER XIX.

An account of the establishment of a lasting peace between Nizám Alí Khan and the English, without the knowledge of the Nawaub Bahadúr, by the intrigues[z] of Rooknuddowla ;—and of the battles which followed, about two months after, between the English and the Nawaub, near Nuggur, Trichinopoly, and the Barh Mahl ; with an accouut of the victories gained by Hydur's gallant army in the same year, and the re-establishment of Peace, 1185, Hijri.—A. D. 1771.

When the General had returned to his ground of encampment, and Rooknuddowla proceeded to the presence of the Nizám of Hydurabad, he persuaded him to make peace with the English Bahadúr ; and, having settled the articles of the treaty, opened a communication with the English by letter. The next day the English army marched back, and took the road to Amboor Gurh. The Nawaub was surprised at this movement, and fell into deep thought ; when Hurkaras arrived, with intelligence that the Nizám had marched from Huskote to-

[z] ﺳﺎﺯﺵ

wards the Ghaut or pass of Kurunpat, and that his Vakeels or ambassadors had reached the English camp, and also that Rooknuddowla, had proceeded to visit Muhammad Alí Khan. The Nawaub was now convinced that that old[a] wolf, the Nizám, was playing some artful tricks, and that he was travelling in the path of treachery and deceit. Nevertheless, as "men of courage, do not put their trust in the aid of others"—"the canopy or tent of the heavens, stands without pole or pillar,"[b] and relying on the exertions of his faithful servants, the Nawaub formed his plans, and was ready to carry them into execution, when the Nizám, for the security of his dominions, and by the advice of Rooknuddowla, gave to the English government, as payment for a subsidiary force to aid and defend him, the country of Sikakole,[c] and Rajbunduri, the collection of the customs of which was thirty Lakhs of rupees; and which was first under the authority of Anwuruddeen Khan, and afterwards assigned for pay to Monsieur Bussy, a French officer. Having done this, he without the knowledge of the Nawaub,

کهنه گرگ

[b] The man who owns a firm courageous soul
Relies not on the aid another lends :
Nor prop, nor buttress, keeps sustained the whole
Of heaven's vast canopy that o'er us bends.

[c] Spelt by the English, Chicacole.

returned to Hydurabad, by the route of Kirpa[d] and Kurnole.

But, to continue—In two months and a few days, General Smith and Colonel Hewitt collected together a force, and made preparations, with the intention, of conquering the Karnatic Balaghaut, according to the instructions of the Nizám ; and, taking with them Muhammad Alí Khan, the Souba of Arkat, they advanced from Amboor Gurh. The Nawaub, however, not thinking it prudent to oppose the English openly in the field, harassed them with his Kuzzaks or predatory horse only, and despatched the heavy baggage of his army, with his heavy artillery, towards Anikul and Makri Droog ; remaining with his horse, foot, and rockets, &c., ready for battle. In the mean time, he attacked the English army on all sides, with parties of his light troops, while he himself was forming schemes to destroy his powerful opponents. At this period, his Hurkaras brought intelligence that by the route of Nuthur Nuggur, (otherwise Trichinopoly,) and from Tanjore, a large convoy of stores under the escort of two thousand foot, a thousand English musketeers, four hundred horse, and two guns, was advancing, by the Ghaut of Chungum, to join the English army, and that they had a great number of cattle

[d] Written Kuddapah by the English.

with them. The Nawaub, therefore, who was looking out for news bringing such good luck, marched without delay, and, keeping under cover of the hills and forests, brought the day of Judgment on the convoy and its escort; for, at the first attack, the escort were mostly killed, and the whole of the convoy taken. The English General was thrown into perplexity by this occurrence, and, having encamped at Tripatoor, he sent to Madras for stores and provisions. At this time news was brought from Nuggur, that an English army had arrived from Bombay, and had taken the fort of Gorial Bundur, (Mangalore), and was spreading terror over that country; and that it was to be feared the territory of Nuggur would likewise soon fall into their hands. Tippoo was, therefore, despatched with two thousand regular infantry, four thousand horse, and a thousand irregular foot, to protect and defend that quarter; while Hydur himself remained involved in the tempest of battle and slaughter, with these two officers, Smith and Hewitt. Other letters were now received, from the Chiefs of Koimbatoor and Kalikut, that, on the side of Nuthur Nuggur, a Captain, with two or three thousand regular infantry, and four thousand Kullars,[e] the servants of Ram Raja, the Poligar of Malabar, had

[e] کلّرْ

entered Karroor; and that his intention was to reduce the districts in that vicinity. On hearing this, Hybut Jung was appointed, with four thousand horse, to repel these invaders.

When Tippoo arrived by forced marches at Gorial Bundur, the commanding officer of the English army, there, strengthened the works of the fort, and, to the distance of a Fursung, surrounded them with redoubts, which he occupied. Tippoo wrote an account of this to his father, whose sole object being the order and safety of his territories, he considered the reduction of that part of the country necessary, prior to all other measures, and he, therefore, taking with him four Risalas of regular infantry, with four guns and selecting two thousand good horse, from the whole of his army; left the rest of his troops, his tents, standards, drums &c. to the charge of Meer Alí Ruza Khan, Mukdoom Sáhib, and Muhammad Alí, commandant, with Ghazi Khan Beed, &c.; and in the space of a week, entered the fort of Nuggur. He then despatched orders, to collect men, to all the Killadárs and officers in that neighbourhood, and, in about ten or twelve days, assembled twenty thousand of the peasantry of the country. Having provided these recruits with wooden muskets of ebony and also furnished them

with standards of black, white, and yellow cloth, one flag or Beiruk, being assigned to a thousand men, he moved forward with this showy semblance of a force. When he arrived near the batteries of the English, he formed his lines, and, having marched, and countermarched his troops before them, he encamped on an open space on some high ground, and ordered his son, (Tippoo), to attack the batteries in flank. This being done, Tippoo, after some fighting succeeded in taking them, and putting the infantry stationed in them to the sword. This success having thrown the enemy into some confusion, the chief officer of the English, from fear of the Nawaub, whose army appeared numerous, while his, (the officer's) troops were but few; and with a view, also, to preserve his men, which is the duty of every commanding officer; left the batteries the same night, and took the road to the fort. In this movement two European soldiers ran away from their comrades, and came to Tippoo, and gave information of the retreat of the English. Tippoo instantly despatched this intelligence to his father; but before the Nawaub could put his force in motion, or the retreating parties of the enemy could reach the fort, he with the greatest rapidity, moving on the flank, advanced before them, and keeping up a smart fire, entered the fort, and put

to the sword those of the garrison who were manning the walls. The Nawaub, on hearing the news, followed with his cavalry at a gallop, treading on his heels, and rained a storm of arrows and rockets on the devoted detachment of the English ; and, at length, their order being broken, and the men terrified, they abandoned the road to the fort, and retired to the sea side. The troops of the Nawaub, however, dashed out after them to the sea shore, and the whole were taken or put to death. The commanding officer of the English troops however embarked on a vessel lying ready to receive him, and disappointed, and hopeless, bent his course to Bombay. After having left a strong garrison in the fort of this sea port, (Mangalore), the Nawaub returned with his European prisoners, and, in six weeks, arrived at Bangalore. By this time, the two officers, Smith and Hewitt, had taken the forts of Wanumbari, Tripatoor, Gugungurh Nutkul, and Jug Deo, and also the small fort of Dhurumpoori, (after Payindah Khan, the Risaldár, who commanded there, was slain), with the Hill Fort of Kishengiri, which was plundered. Abdurrusheed Khan, the Dewaun of the Nawaub Muhammad Alí Khan, was also appointed to the charge of the Barh Mahl ;[f]

[f] The historical account of the Barh Mahl, or twelve Purgunas, is to be found in the Persian copy of Mr. Marriott only.

and the general, having crossed the Kunuk Goondah, Droog, or Ghaut, reduced the forts of Hussoor, Mashti, Moorwakul, Kolar, and Huskote.

It is to be observed here, that, in the reigns of the Kotab Shahi dynasty, the Barh Mahl district was included in the Souba of Arkat, which Souba was depending on Hydurabad; but, when Bahadúr Shah, the son of Alumgeer, gave Kirpa in Jageer to Abdunnubbee Khan, the nephew of Azum Khan Meeana, the Barh Mahl was added to that district. But, to return—Muhammad Alí Khan of Arkat had, at this period, taken up his residence at Kolar, but had sent for Morar Rao, Ghoor Purria, from Gooti, to his assistance, and was making his own arrangements, when the Nawaub returned, and re-entered his camp, and disposed his army in the best order.

The English army, with the army of the Rao before mentioned, was now encamped near the town of Nursipoorum, when the Nawaub finding one night a favorable opportunity, marched towards them to make a night attack, and, on arriving there, without hesitation gallantly attacked and plundered the whole of Morar Rao's force, and the Rao himself, being wounded, took to flight, leaving all his guns and stores behind him. Some English soldiers, and horsemen of Muhammad Alí Khan, were among the killed and wounded, on this occasion.

The commanders of the English, nevertheless, stood to their arms, and, firing their guns, pursued the Nawaub to the fort of Huskote; and, in the plain to the eastward of that town, they took up an encampment, surrounding their army with redoubts, and halted there. Muhammad Alí Khan (of Arkat) in great trepidation, but pretending he was sick, now made the movement of the English an excuse for retiring to Satgurh, and recalled his Dewaun from the Barh Mahl.

At this time, Hybut Jung, who had been appointed to oppose that part of the English army which was advancing by the way of Trichinopoly, despatched a letter to Hydur, stating that, at the present moment, the Captain commanding the English troops had taken (the forts of) Dindigul, Coimbatoor, Palghaut, Hurroor, and Dharapore, and that, being at leisure, he, (the Captain), now intended, after receiving his ammunition and provisions, which had arrived from Turnamuli, Mudhura, and Trichinopoly, and were collected in the small fort of Karoor, to march by the Ghaut of Gujulhutty, and make an incursion into Mysore and Seringaputtun; and that, although Hydur's Kuzzaks or light troops exerted themselves like brave men, to defeat the enemies of the Sirkar, still, without infantry and guns, no advantage could

be gained from their exertions. As soon as the contents of this letter were made known to him, the Nawaub left Tippoo, with the army, to oppose his encroaching enemies; and himself, with six thousand regular infantry, four thousand horse, and fifteen guns, proceeded by forced marches to Dhurrumpoori, and, attacking it in the night, took both the fort and garrison. Then, by night marches, crossing the Ghaut of Tipoor, by the route of Namkul, he proceeded straight by a night march to Karroor, and besieged that fort, which contained two hundred regular foot, and some Kullers or irregulars, for the guard and protection of the supplies or stores therein deposited. In one night he completed his batteries, and mounted on them four or five battering guns, and in the morning commenced his fire. The walls of the fort being of earth, a few discharges, shattered and broke them down; and, although the garrison defended themselves with great constancy till mid-day, they were then obliged to give in, and quit the fort.

About this time, also, intelligence reached the Nawaub, that four thousand carriage bullocks, despatched by the Captain of the English to fetch stores from Hurroor to Karroor, under the escort of two hundred musketeers and three hundred Kullers, (called Colluries by Orme), were advancing,

without any fear or caution. On hearing this, the Nawaub immediately despatched two guns and a thousand matchlock men after them ; and these intelligent brave fellows attacked this sleepy convoy, and at one charge having thrown the escort into confusion, made prisoners of them, and brought them and their bullocks to the Nawaub, who immediately attached the bullocks to his own artillery, and, after three days, moved towards Hurroor. The Captain, before mentioned, being much alarmed that his detachment and supplies did not return, and by the want of intelligence respecting them and being also ignorant of the arrival of the Nawaub, despatched six hundred regular infantry, and two hundred Europeans, with four guns, to Karroor. This detachment had marched about four fursungs, when the Nawaub heard of them, and he immediately despatched his horse to surround, and draw them on towards the range of his artillery. The horse, accordingly, by caracoling round them, and by pouring showers of arrows and rockets on them, drew them gradually on to the front of the artillery, when they dispersed and retired. Supposing that the cavalry were those of Hybut Jung only, the officer who commanded the English detachment took little or no notice of them, but proceeded on, when, all of a sudden, the artillery opened its fire,

and the discharges followed so quickly that the detachment fell into confusion. The Kuzzak, or light horse, who were on the watch for such an opportunity, leaping their horses, dashed forward, and without fear plunged into the midst of the fugitives, and with the sword and spear destroyed many guiltless[g] lives; and although the men of this country, [the Dukhun,] had their lives spared on asking quarter, not one of the Frengis,[h] or Europeans, except two little boys, nine or ten years of age, were left alive.

After this battle, the Nawaub marched on, and pitched his camp opposite the fort of Hurroor, whence he sent the following message, by these two boys, to the captain commanding in the fort. "Behold the Nawaub Bahadúr, like sudden death, is upon your head. He has defeated and plundered the armies of General Smith and Muhammad Alí Khan, and has sent his army with his officers to conquer[i] Arkat, while he himself has arrived by forced marches with his personal guard, to complete your destruction. He has also, put to the sword all the convoy or escort on the road to Karroor, with the garrison of that fort, and if you have any wish to prolong your life, you must come and seek

[g] بیگناهان [h] اهل فرنگ

[i] بندوبست A word of very wide signification.

the protection of the Nawaub's skirt. If not, the Nawaub has determined that on the morrow he will not spare the life of a single man."

The little artless boys, who had seen with their own eyes the men of their party destroyed, and were still in great alarm, entered the fort, and related every circumstance with minute exactness to the Captain. The Captain, therefore, being a simple honest man, was deceived by this lying story, and relinquished all intention of defending the fort, and getting into his palankin, accompanied by two or three servants, one or two pioneers,[j] and seven foot soldiers he went out, and met the Nawaub. The Nawaub, who was highly pleased at his arrival, by consoling and comforting him, quieted his apprehensions, and then ordered a separate tent to be pitched for him and sent him off to occupy it. He did not, however, allow any of his, the Captain's, servants except the pioneers, to remain with him.

When the Captain had retired from the presence, and entered the tent, and saw that none of his servants had remained with him, he sat down alone in the chair of despondency looking about him, and, placing the telescope of the discernment of truth on the stand of patience, he viewed the wide extent of the region of understanding,[k] and

[j] بحذي

[k] دريافت

asked himself, what kind of business is this, and how will it end?—In the meanwhile the civil servants of the Nawaub arrived, and, in sweet words and soft language, began to treat with him, respecting the surrender of the fort, and the military and other stores contained therein, and requested he would give an order, to that effect, on the second in command in the fort, who was ready with his troops to defend it; and, notwithstanding the Captain objected and resisted the demand to surrender the fort, unless after he was permitted to return, the Nawaub's servants would not allow his words any weight, but by fair and foul means,[l] they at length compelled him willing or unwilling, to write an order to surrender the fort, and stores, agreeably to the schedule made of them; and then they returned to the presence.[m]

The Nawaub now despatched four Risalas or battalions of regular infantry, and a thousand irregular foot, with this order. The officer who was second in command no sooner saw the writing of his superior, than he without hesitation gave a return of the troops, composing the garrison, and the guns, and stores, with the keys of the fort, to the Nawaub's officer, and quitted the fort, of which the Nawaub's

[l] فريفته سزاولي سخت بعمل اورده

[m] By this it appears they extorted the order required by torture.

troops took possession, and all the valuable stores were appropriated by the Khodadad government. The servants or troops of the Ram Raja, and the Kullers, who formed a part of the garrison, the Nawaub marched three times round his camp, as an offering, or sacrifice, for the safety of his troops, and they were then dismissed. A few prisoners,[n] of the English garrison, were sent to be confined in different forts of the kingdom; and thus, victorious, crossing by forced marches the Ghaut or pass of Gujul Hutti, the Nawaub returned to make head once more against the English army.

At that period the General, who had returned from Huskote, and had pitched his tents in the neighbourhood of Kolar, despatched two battalions and four hundred Europeans, to fetch supplies, which had been collected and deposited in the small fort of Hussoor, and when the escort for these supplies had proceeded by night to Hussoor, and had taken charge of the cattle and provisions, they marched with them the next night on their return. The Nawaub at the same time, marched from Anikul, in pursuit of this convoy and escort, and detached Muhammad Alí, commandant, with four thousand regular infantry, and guns, to attack the fort of Hussoor; while he himself, in the vicinity of

[n] He put the rest to death most likely.

Nidra Mungul, fell in with the convoy, and, surrounding them, raised the clamour of the Resurrection[o] and the tempest of destruction around them. The fearless Kuzzaks now gallantly exercised their predatory calling; for, notwithstanding they lost some of their best men in the attack, they drove off the whole of the bullocks, with their loads, even to the bullocks of the artillery; and, moreover relieved the shoulders of (many of) the escort of the heavy burthen of their heads. On all sides, the field of battle was straightened by bitter enmity,[p] and it went near that a great loss had fallen on the detachment. Their commanding officer, however, withdrew his men into a ruined fort, which was hard by; and, by a continual fire of cannon and musketry, repelled his assailants.

While matters were in this state, Muhammad Alí, commandant, after having placed a garrison in the fort of Hussoor, returned to the camp with the stores and prisoners, which he had taken; and, being now appointed to the plunder and destruction of this detachment, he attacked them like a raging lion, and, battering one side of the fort, soon breached the walls, while he kept his men ready for the assault. At this time, the General of the Eng-

[o] A favourite figure with the author.

[p] دشمنا

lish troops, who was encamped at Kolar, hearing the report of the guns and musketry, knew that his convoy had been vigorously attacked, and, in consequence, despatched a body of troops to reinforce them. When, therefore, after great difficulties and trouble, these detachments of English troops joined, the power of the besiegers became much contracted, and the English marched at night and joined their own camp. A single bag of grain or stores, however, never arrived in the English camp.

The Nawaub, after this, marched and besieged Huskote, in which was an English garrison, and attacked it on all sides. The officer who commanded in the fort, however, repelled several assaults with the greatest gallantry, and made known his situation to the general, who instantly marched from Kolar towards Huskote. The Nawaub's scouts or outposts immediately apprised him of the General's advance, and he, therefore, despatching the whole of his cavalry, under the orders of his son Tippoo and Meer Alí Ruza Khan, towards the English army to amuse them, he himself remained with his regular and irregular infantry, to take the fort. He now ordered the brave commandant, Muhammad Alí, to plant ladders[q] against the towers and

[q] مرکب مردي

gates ; and with great exertion and bravery, the assailants by their aid mounted the walls. The garrison of the fort being few in number, they had not power to repel the assault of such a multitude ; and, therefore, threw away their shields, *i. e.* surrendered. The merciful Nawaub gave the garrison, who had defended themselves with great bravery, the surety of their lives and property, and brought them out of the fort, in which he placed a garrison of his own. He was preparing, with his artillery, and regular and irregular infantry, to repel the English army, when the general himself, with his best troops, arrived in front of the town of Huskote, under the impression that the fort still remained in possession of his Killadár or officer.

The Nawaub, who had now no choice but to light up the flames of battle, arranged his artillery as quickly as possible, in the plain of the Eedgah,[r] and fired away with such vivacity, that the concussions of the guns shook the breast of the earth to her centre, and thousands of men were slain. The General, meanwhile, prevented his men from throwing away their lives or limbs uselessly, by making them shelter themselves in the low grounds, and then calmly resigned himself to the will of God.

[r] A mosque built to celebrate the Eedikorban, and Eedi Fitr festivals of the Mussulmans.

The Nawaub now signified to the officers of the guards on the prisoners who had been taken, of the garrisons of Nuthur Nuggur, Huskote, &c. that they should release two or three men ; and this being done, these persons soon reached the General, and detailed to him the circumstances which had occurred at Huskote, and the present condition of the garrisons of Hydur Nuggur, Nuthur Nuggur, and Hurroor. On hearing these statements the General hesitated, and having halted during the day, from anxiety, he, in the evening, returned to Kolar, leaving the heavy baggage of his army, with two or three pieces of artillery ; one of which, with its muzzle broken, still lies there, as a remembrance.

Having taken possession of the abandoned baggage, the Nawaub now advanced and encamped at Nursing-poorum, where Hurkaras brought intelligence, that a convoy of provisions was advancing by the Ghaut of Tubul Pulli, to join the English camp, under the escort of two thousand regular infantry, a thousand Poligar foot, and a thousand horse. On hearing this, the Nawaub himself with his light artillery, and regular and irregular infantry, marched and took post in ambuscade in front of the Pass. The next day, the convoy having passed the Ghaut, and arrived at Pudnainchuro, the Gha-

ziaun, (the Nawaub's troops,) sallied forth from their ambush, and, commanded by the Nawaub, attacked it on every side, and, like the famished at a table laden with dainties, they put forth the hand of plunder, and with the pitiless sword slew, and then trampled many men of the escort under the hoofs of their horses; and the whole of the property and stores taken being appropriated to the Nawaub's provision and store departments, he then returned.

When this news reached the General, in whose army provisions and stores became scarce, he fell into deep thought and perplexity, from the prospect of a famine in his camp; and the Nawaub, seeing that the General confined himself in his movements to the conquest of the towns and Talookas of the Balaghaut, resolved that he himself, with the whole of his army, would march to the Payanghaut. Accordingly, having crossed by the pass of Rai Kote, he took the fort of Kishingiri; and then, placing garrisons in the forts of Tripatoor and Wanumbari, he burned most of the towns depending on Amboor. Plundering as he went, he next marched by the districts of Amboor Gurh, Santgurh, Rai Vellore, Dhobigurh, Arnee, and Jeeth-peenth, (or Chittapet,) to Turnamul, where he encamped. From this place he detached his son, (Tippoo,) to-

wards Madras, and Meer Alí Ruza Khan, towards Tujawur, (or Tanjore,) and Nuthur Nuggur, and Ghazi Khan, Maha Mirza Khan, &c., towards Chitoor and Niloor, to plunder the cities and towns in those quarters; and, in a very short time, the whole of that part of the country was swept by the besom of plunder and destruction, and most of the population perished under the hoofs of the Nawaub's cavalry.

The General, on hearing of this, and the pillage of the Payanghaut districts, was immersed in the whirlpool of anxiety; and now, being compelled, of necessity marched by the Ghaut of Kurrunpat to Sautgurh, and thence towards Rai Vellore where he halted.

Muhammad Alí Khan, when he saw the two lions, (General Smith, and Hydur,) blood drinkers, making these exertions from manly emulation, and purely for the honour of their respective governments, and in the mean time shedding blood, and plundering and destroying God's people uselessly; moreover, that, notwithstanding the destruction of thousands of brave men, their hands were not yet withdrawn from slaughter; and that, in his Muhammad Alí's wish to obtain the country of the Balaghaut, the whole of the Payanghaut would be lost; after considering all this, he, therefore, wrote letters

to the General, and persuaded him to entertain thoughts of peace. Then, having appointed Nujeeb Khan and Danishmund Khan his plenipotentiary Vakeels, he despatched them with four lakhs of rupees, and friendly letters and presents, to the Nawaub, and, following the path of friendship and truth, he manifested his wish to make peace. The Nawaub Bahadúr, who, also, in his engagements with the English, had obtained nothing but hard blows and loss; who was laden with a burden of hundreds of thousands of debt, and who was himself seeking peace; was in his heart rejoiced beyond measure, by the application of Muhammad Alí Khan, accepted his presents, and with great satisfaction, despatched Alí Zumán Khan, and Mehdi Alí Khan Nayut, as his ambassadors.

When these able deputies arrived, and met Muhammad Alí Khan, they arranged the preliminaries of the treaty in the best possible way, and laid such a strong foundation to the conditions of peace and amity, that on no account should the Chiefs of these two governments ever again quarrel, but, on the contrary, assist and support each other. Included in this negociation, the Vakeels of the Nawaub again obtained the release from Muhammad Alí, of the Nowayut dependents, that is to say, the relations of Chunda Sáhib, also the relations

of Imám Alí Bukhshi, and their Zenanas, or women. Those persons and others being released from the prisons of Muhammad Alí Khan, solely from the Nawaub's regard for his tribe, the Vakeels returned successful.

By this peace the Khan also transferred the Talooka of Kurroor to the Nawaub, and it was taken possession of by his (the Nawaub's) officers. But, besides this, most of the Munsubdárs,[8] and Jageerdárs, of the tribe before mentioned (Nayut) as, for instance, Mehdi Khan, the Chief of Awul Goondi, Moortuza Hussein Khan, Munsubdár of Girkut Palli, Muhammad Tuki, the Jageerdár of Wundiwassi; Muhammad Saeed Khan, the Munsubdár of Pur-Mokulgurh; and also the Ilakadárs, Muhammad Alí Khan Powloori, and Herasut Khan Sautgudi, who, from the oppression of Muhammad Alí Khan, were sorely afflicted and distressed. To all these he sent pecuniary assistance, and carriage, and invited them to come to him; and when they arrived, he gave to every one service according to his rank and abilities, such as the office of Bukhshi, or other civil offices, and honours. Many inhabitants of the city and towns of Arkat, Vellore, &c., also, who, being neglected, felt aggrieved, and had retired from public life, now, taking advan-

[8] Munsub is a stated rate of pay for military service.

tage of the time offered for the appreciation of their merits, and considering the opportunity as presented by their good fortune, visited the liberal and discriminating Nawaub, and according to their titles or claims were entertained in his service. The chain of strife and discord being thus cut asunder by the shears of four lakhs of rupees, the Nawaub returned victorious to the Balaghaut province.

CHAPTER XX.

The march of the Nawaub and his troops towards Kírpa, Kurnole, Bellari, &c., and the collection of an adequate[t] Paishkush (tribute) from the Chiefs of the above districts; with other conquests, made in the end of the same year 1185, Hijri.—A. D. 1771.

At the period when the Nawaub had marched to oppose the English, the Chief of Kirpa, Abdul Huleem Khan, considering the time favourable to his plans, despatched his horse to ravage and plunder the districts and towns depending on the Nawaub, and the towns belonging to the Souba of Sura, and Kurum Goonda, and the villages of the tributary Poligars of that Souba, were in consequence laid waste. In the same way, Munuwwur Khan, the Chief of Kurnole, in concert with the Chief of Gudwal, exerted himself to do as much injury as he could. The Náík of Bullari, whose name was Doodapa, also insolently caused a great disturbance in the dependencies of Rai Droog, &c; and continual

[t] شایان

accounts of these excesses arrived at the hearing of the Nawaub's servants. The settlement of that quarter was, nevertheless, postponed by the Nawaub to the end of the war with the red faced blood drinkers, (*i. e.* the English). At this time, therefore, as the heavenly mind of the Nawaub was set at rest by the conclusion of treaties of peace with them, he sent off to Puttun[u] the heavy baggage of his army with the dependents and families of the Nowayuts or Nayuts; and himself, with a determination to punish his enemies, accompanied by all his horse, and regular and irregular infantry, the whole of which amounted to fifty or sixty thousand men, accompanied also by his Atash Khana,[x] or artillery raining fire, he proceeded by easy stages, as if travelling for pleasure to see the country, toward Kirpa, and he gave orders to a party of his Kuzzaks to omit no means of laying waste the country in the vicinity of Kirpa; (and they obeyed his orders so thoroughly,) as to leave not one of the well wishers of that enemy, (the Chief of that place), alive.

When this intelligence was carried to the Chief of Kirpa, he became exceedingly alarmed and saw no resource for his present and future welfare but

[u] In this book Puttun means Seringaputtun.

[x] اتش خانه

to seek refuge with the servants of the Nawaub, and he therefore despatched a Vakeel with five lakhs of rupees in money, two elephants, and four horses, with jewelled or embroidered saddles and equipments, as a present together with petitions for the forgiveness of his offences, great and small, and offering, as to the future, strong and repeated assurances that, from this time, he would never place the foot of presumption beyond the boundary of obedience to the Nawaub's commands, but would act according to his orders; and as a mode of manifesting the strength of his attachment, he further offered to send a portion of his troops to serve as subsidiaries with the Nawaub's army.

This petition the Nawaub granted from political motives, and also accepted the money and presents, according to the *verse*, "What comes unasked, is given of God"—"refuse not what is sent by God."[y]— and placed them in his treasury, and having written[z] some directions, in the way of advice, for the regulation of the Khan's conduct, now and hereafter, and which might serve as the rule of his life and welfare, he then despatched a newswriter to his capital, with proper presents, and honorary distinctions.

[y] What comes unasked, by God is given;
Refuse not then the gift of heaven.

ترقیم

Budruzzumán Khan, who formerly gave up the fort of little Balapoor to the Paishwa, Madhoo Rao, and thereby threw the dust of shame on his own head, and had since accepted the service of the Hakim of Kirpa, now through the intercession of Alí Zumán Khan his brother-in-law, had an assurance of safety sent to him; and, forgiving his faults, the Nawaub invited him to return, bestowing on him the Khilut, or honorary dress of pardon, and restoring him to his former office of Bukshi.

The Nawaub now immediately marched on, and passing by the environs of Gunjee Kote, belonging to the Kirpa Chief, arrived at Bheekun Pulli. The Killadár of that place, who was of the Syud family of Gholaum Alí, otherwise called Guloo, at first got ready to fight; and, his insolence and folly producing a kind of frenzy, he fired a few gun shots at the Nawaub's body guard; the Nawaub himself being present, and riding his favourite elephant, called Poon Guj. The Nawaub was, therefore, bound in honour to require and demand that this insolent fellow should be punished in a way that might serve for a warning to others, and accordingly, gave orders to his brave officers to attack him with their companies; upon which they instantly encircled him, putting forth their hands to plunder and lay waste. Seeing this ravage, the

Killadár threw down his shield, and, placing the ring of obedience and service in the ear of his life,[a] despatched a Vakeel with a present of fifty thousand rupees, and he was then allowed to remain unmolested. At the same time his cousins, Meer Hussein Alí Khan, and Meer Assud Alí Khan, being desirous to serve the Nawaub, presented themselves to him, and were appointed Bukshis of horse.

The Nawaub now marched two stages towards Gudwal, the Poligar of which place, fearful of the overwhelming attacks of the Nawaub, and trembling like a reed shaken in the wind, despatched a Vakeel with two lakhs of rupees, and some other presents, and also with petitions for his life and safety; and having done this, he considered himself out of danger. When the Vakeel with the money, presents and letters, arrived at the presence, he delivered his message with much humility and supplication. From forethought and expediency, the Nawaub accepted his money and presents, and then marched in another direction.

Although the Nawaub passed with his army by the dependencies of Gooti, that is to say, those of Morar Rao, yet, from policy, he took especial care that no injury should be done, either to the Rao or the inhabitants of that part of the country; but

[a] جان

marched on hastily to Kurnole. As soon as Munuwwur Khan was apprised of the arrival of the Nawaub Bahadúr's army, he determined to oppose them, and got his troops in readiness, pitched his tents, and raised his standards, outside the town. A fanatical devotee, named Shah Miskeen, the Khan's Moorshud or spiritual director, in whom the Khan placed great faith and all whose commands he obeyed, (to such an extent that no chief of his rank was ever so obedient to his spiritual guide as he,) now said "Munuwwur, rejoice; for I will make thy enemies flee." The Khan was so overjoyed, at hearing these glad tidings, that he nearly fainted; and, being now happy, fancied he should certainly conquer the Nawaub's gallant army. The Nawaub, when he became aware of the intentions of the Khan, committed the right and left wings of his army to his bravest officers, and, mounted on an elephant, he himself, with his most devoted troops, taking post in the centre, his artillery in front, advanced opposite the walls of the town, and there halted; his intention being to attack immediately and take the town and its chief together.

At this time, the mad[b] Shah or Devotee above mentioned, sitting upon a naked or uncaparisoned elephant, and accompanied by two or three hundred

[b] مجزوب

Afghans, careless of life, advanced towards the Nawaub's army. On seeing this, a number of the Nawaub's companions, and Khans, addressed him several times intimating that he ought to relinquish the attempt to conquer this place, in respect that it was under the protection of one of God's most perfect Walis, or saints; that the Aktab,[c] Outad,[d] and Oulia,[e] whenever they cast an eye of favour on any one, placed him in security from all evil and danger; that the manifestation of this intention might be the cause of loss and injury to the Khodadad government, and God forbid that in the result his mind should be disturbed or person injured; that it was best, therefore, that the Nawaub should encamp his army in some place, (near), and halt there, until the Afghan of Kurnole should, of his own accord, present himself with his hands tied, ready to obey the Nawaub's commands; and that, in this matter, haste was not becoming the servants of the Nawaub.[f] The Nawaub, on hearing these opinions, and suggestions, so dishonourable to a man of courage and determination, was much irritated, and, looking angrily in the faces

[c] Kotub, is the polar star.

[d] Wutud, is a tent peg,—symbolical of strength, also height, &c.

[e] Wuli is a friend or a saint—all these are degrees of religious attainment among the Mussulmans.

[f] Meaning the Nawaub himself.

of these weak[g] men, demanded of them if *his* troops also were not under the protection of some Wali, Kotub, or saint, that he and his troops should be supposed to be without support or aid? Nearly the whole of those who were present, now wisely held their tongues, and were silent; but, some took the liberty to reply, "Yes, certainly they were." The Nawaub then said, "in that case, the saint who protects our army, will dispute with and oppose him who protects this place;[h] and, in the mean time, we ourselves will remove the clouded brain from the vain head of Munuwwur Khan; for, added he, "I will stretch the neck of his presumption with the halter of degradation, and not allow him to remain alive." After saying this he drove on his elephant, and had advanced about the distance of a musket shot, when the fanatic Shah above mentioned, who had determined to charge and overthrow the Nawaub's troops suddenly turned about and retreated into the fort, and retiring to the women's apartments of his house, crept into a dark room, where he said to the Khan, "Oh, Munuwwur! whatever thou hast, give up to this brave man, and make peace; only thy fort will we not give up to him." On hearing these words from his priest, the Khan gave up all heart,

[g] اراکین

[h] Called Kunole and Kurnole.

and the strength of his loins was broken by the staff of fear. He, therefore, sent his Dewaun, or minister, to the Nawaub, with presents and provisions for a feast; and intreated he would encamp, and promised the payment next day of as large a sum of money as he was able to collect.

Casting the eye of favour, and the compassionate regard of a master, on the condition of that representative of an ancient house, the Nawaub agreed to accept his propositions, and pitched his tents and standards to the westward of the fort, on the bank of the river Tungbhuddra, and entered his tents, until the money was paid, until that however, he would not allow the Dewaun to return to the fort. The next day, in lieu of five lakhs of rupees, which sum he had engaged to pay, the Khan sent out a quantity of money, and ornaments of gold, and silver, and, in sweet flattering language, professed great regard and friendship for the Nawaub, and thus escaped his ire and vengeance.

The Nawaub, desiring much to conquer and put in order other places, took the amount above mentioned, and on the next day marched by the road of Tripeti Goondeh, and Pundeh Goondeh, to Kupthal, in the environs of Bullari, where he encamped his victorious army, with the intention of reducing the Poligar of that place, and of leaving a garrison of his own in his forts; to cast the dread

of his victorious army into the heart of Busálut Jung, the Chief of Adhoni, who was secretly intriguing with Morar Rao, and inciting him to the plunder of the Mysore territory. Under the shew, therefore, of lighting a fire among the villages of Rai Droog, the Nawaub ordered the Risaldárs of the regular and irregular infantry to employ the bravest among their number to run on approaches[i] against the fort of Rai Droog, to breach the lower and endeavour to take the upper or Mountain fort. Accordingly, by the exertions of thirty days, the tower or bastion at the north east angle of the lower fort was battered down, by the continual fire of the guns, and at night they made an assault. The besieged Náík, however, defended himself bravely, and did not suffer fear to influence his exertions; but successfully beat off the storming party. The resolution displayed by the Náík, excited the violent anger of the Nawaub, who brought his large guns under the sweep of the hill to the north, where he ordered his artillery to batter the walls of the Mountain fort. The sureties of conquest, that is, the artillery-men, now threw some large stones from mortars[j] into the women's apartments of the Náík, on seeing which, the women, in great distress and confusion, filled the air with their cries, and

[i] سيب

[j] They are called guns in the original.

obstinately insisted, that the Náík should immediately enter into communication with the Nawaub to make peace, and pay him whatever sum of money he demanded; and, they declared, that, if he had not money enough, they would give up all their most valuable ornaments, "for," said they, "should the Nawaub, which God forbid, take the fort, our honour would certainly not remain inviolate." The Náík being by this means agitated and perplexed, sent a messenger of peace to the Nawaub, agreeing to pay two lakhs of rupees, and thus he entered the list of those who were spared by Hydur.

At this period, spies or intelligencers sent information to the Nawaub, that Tattia Mahratta, the Chief of Mirch, at the instigation of Govind Rao, the son of Imrut Rao, the Chief of Gujindurgurh, had marched a body of troops, with an intention to lay waste and destroy the country, under the government of the Sirkar Khodadad, (the Mysore State;) and that he was raising disturbances near Badami and Dharwar. As the Nawaub was now compelled to reduce this fort, and to chastise the Mahrattas, he accorded the petitions of the Poligar, and taking two lakhs of rupees in money, and leaving a newswriter there, he marched on, and, having crossed the river Toongbhuddra at the Ford of Goruknat, he by long marches arrived at Binkapoor. The enemy, being

aware of the rapid advance of the Nawaub, lost their senses, from the fear of the desperate valour of his troops,[k] and returned hopeless to Mirch.

The Nawaub, therefore, now returning, arrived at Shahnoor, where Hukeem Khan advanced to meet him; and, having professed his friendly sentiments, he presented the expenses of the army for ten days, amounting to a hundred and thirty-five thousand rupees, as a gift, and was thus freed from further trouble. From this place he, Hydur, moved on, and, passing Sirihutti, Dumul, and Kunugiri, and collecting an adequate Paishkush from the Poligars of that quarter, he next pitched his tents at Bejanuggur, otherwise called Anigoondi, and Tum or Tímraj, the Chief of that place, was sent for by the Nawaub to visit him. As, however, these Chiefs are the descendants of Kishenraj,[l] and Ramraj, Chitri, they salute or make obeisance to no one. In former times, the country of the two Karnatics, and even the Dukhun from the forts of Malabar to the banks of the Nurbudda, were subject to their authority. But the power of these Princes was broken and destroyed, by the energies of the officers and troops of the Kings of Islam, namely, Kotub Shah, Adil Shah, and Nizám Shah, in the environs of Nyaul Kote, a town on the banks of the Kishna, in 972,

[k] غازیان

[l] Meaning apparently, Ram and Krishna.

Hijri. The words "Ram Raja[m] died on the day of Adeena,"—give the date of his death. Sultan Alumgeer during his reign gave the descendants of this line of Princes, to provide for their subsistence, the three districts of Howeli Anigoondi, Durwajee, and Gungawati, as the writer of these lines has detailed, in his History of the rise and fall of these Princes, called the Tuzkirut ul Biladwul Ihkam.

But to return—when the Nawaub sent to Timraj he pretended to be very sick, and sent his son, with some presents and a lakh of rupees, and begged he might be spared. Having taken into consideration the high rank of the ancestors of Timraj and their former greatness, the Nawaub excused him the payment of his Paishkush, and sent him from the presence an honorary dress, confirming him in all his possessions. Hydur then marched, by the route of Hurpunhully and Jureemli, to the neighbourhood of Chitul Droog. The Poligar there, from fear of the spoliation and desolation of his country, sent a Vakeel to the Nawaub, with three lakhs of rupees as a present, and one lakh of rupees as one day's entertainment for the army, representing his devotedness, and that he was obedient to the Nawaub's orders. The Nawaub accepted the money, and allowed him to rest under his powerful protection;

[m] Friday, مرد رام راج روز ادینه

and having, by suggestion and advice, pointed out the path he was to pursue, he despatched an able newswriter and register to the residence of the Poligar.

Hydur then marched by the route of Boka Puttun, and encamped in the environs of Gulwari. The Nawaub here gave orders for the attendance of the Poligar of that place, whose eccentricity and folly had frequently reached his ears. It is to be remarked here, that the said Poligar was, without doubt, entirely void of sense and understanding. He was an opium eater, and spent all the revenue of his Talooka, or district, in the purchase of opium. He was accustomed, sometimes, to mount up into the balcony of his house, and enjoy the prospect of his hills and dales; and there happening to be opposite his little fort a pond full of water, and a small hill beyond it, he used to ask his minister,—"If we had a quantity of pure opium as large as that hill, and as much milk as that pond or tank would hold, how long would it last?" The minister would answer, "Perhaps about a month;" upon which the Poligar would reply, "What—do you take a man to be like a sparrow, that he should pick a bit here and there, and drink by drops?" "If any one could finish the whole of it in a week, then, indeed, I should call him a man." If he sat

down in the morning to wash his mouth and his face, it was mid-day before he had finished, even although his servants did their best to arouse him. His general food was rice and milk, and his wife, after she had caused it to be cooked, usually sent a servant girl to call him to dinner. But it was not until the girl had well shaken his head, and his shoulders, and repeated to him that his dinner was ready, that he rose and retired to the women's apartments to eat. He also had planted a small garden, about the distance of a musket-shot from the town; but, whenever he wished to walk in his garden, it took him a week to get ready. When, however, his ministers had at last roused him, and he had walked to the garden, after an hour or two he would ask his servant, "How many days is it since we left home, and in how many days shall we return?" The servant in answer, would say, that they would reach home after two or three stages, when the Poligar, laughing, would reply, "No, no, we are not pigeons, that we should fly so swift as that!" But, in fact, there are so many stories told of this man, that it would be impossible to relate them all.

When, by the order of the Nawaub, this foolish man attended his Durbar, the Nawaub, seeing the stamp of folly on his forehead, called to him to advance, and then said,—"How is it with you, and

what have you brought me for a present?"—He, with his hands respectfully crossed, replied,—" By your auspicious fortune, there is in my treasury nothing but two or three maunds of opium; but there are also two hundred cows, giving milk, and a few jewels of gold and silver are on the person of your female servant, 'meaning his wife,' if it be your pleasure I will present them to you." The Nawaub laughed very heartily at his absurdity, and gave him leave to return home, and allowed him to retain his town, to furnish him subsistence, but, stationed in it an Ameen, to regulate the administration of the Talooka. The Nawaub then returned to his capital, Puttun.

CHAPTER XXI.

An account of the celebration of the Marriage of the Sáhibzada,[n] Prince, Tippoo, also that of the daughters of Shahbaz Sáhib; and the Marriage of Hydur's own daughter, the year 1185, Hijri.—A. D. 1771.

When the Nawaub Bahadúr was freed from the war with the English, and his arrangements with the Poligars, &c., and had returned victorious to his capital, he determined to celebrate the nuptials of the Princes and Princesses; and, therefore, with the greatest pleasure, demanded for his son the daughter of Imám Sáhib Bukhshi, Nayut, whom he had brought from Arkat, and he ordered the preparations for the banquet, &c. to be made. The ladies of the curtain of chastity and purity, that is, the mother of the Prince, and the wife of Hydur Sáhib, the elder, would not, however, agree to the marriage of this lady; but, agreeably to the choice of the bridegroom himself, and that of their family,

[n] I have translated صاحبزاده Prince as I know no other equivalent when speaking of Tippoo.

selected Rukba Banoo, the daughter of Lala Mean, (who was killed at Churkoli,) and the sister, by both parents, of Búrhan-ud-dín Sipahsalar. The Nawaub, being angry at the rejection of his choice, gave orders that the Prince should be married [o] to both these ladies the same night. Those, therefore, to whom charge was given to prepare the banquet for this happy occasion, commenced the music of congratulation on both sides,[p] and the feast was spread, and the customary forms of rejoicing, agreeably to the usages of the Dukkanees, were all celebrated in royal style and fashion; and, for nearly a month, the streets and markets of the city were ornamented, like the nuptial chamber of the bride and bridegroom, and the fame and noise of the royal banquet extended to all parts of the world. The joyful entertainment, music, and all other appliances of delight, were provided so abundantly, that, during the whole time, little and great, low and high, either among the servants of the government, or the inhabitants of the city, never dried [q] their hands from eating and drinking. The chief officers of the army, the brave men of the body guard, the servants of the household, and the danc-

[o] پیوند معنوی

[p] The bride and bridegroom.

[q] It will be recollected that the people of Hindustan use their fingers alone in eating.

ing girls, with countenances lovely as Venus, like brides and bridegrooms, arrayed in their various coloured raiment, excited by their beauty the envy of the ever blossoming rose garden, and the poor and needy of the world, by the gifts of pearls, and jewels, made on this marriage, were placed independent of poverty and want.

At length, at the fortunate and blessed moment, after the ceremony of riding in procession, the bridegroom was first taken to the gate of the Nayut's house, and, after the reading of the Khotba and Nikah, and the performance of other marriage customs, the bridegroom was again mounted, and taken to the respected gate of Lala Mean, where all the ladies of the Nawaub's family, and all his relations assembled, and gave their sanction to the Khotba and Nikah, and, with the assistance of able bride's women, the ceremonies of Julwah, &c., were performed to their perfect satisfaction, and the sun and moon were placed in auspicious conjunction. In truth, it is the nature of most men and women, that although women of their own tribe may be the poorest[1] in the country, still they hold them in respect and honour, and disparage the women of other tribes by hints and allusions, even while allowing their claim to lineage and nobility. But,

[1] مفلوک چرخه کش

to return — when they had finished all this celebration and congratulation, the two honourable ladies were placed in the Serai of the prince, and there remained.

After this, came the marriage of the two daughters of the deceased Shahbaz Sáhib. Shahbaz, after the increase of the power and wealth of the Nawaub, retired to his own house, and died of disease at Kolar, leaving three daughters, and one son, named Abdulkadir, who was slain in his youth by a cannon ball at the battle of Anooti. The eldest daughter, whose mother was a lady of Shahbaz Sáhib's tribe or family, was married, during the life of her father, to Lala Mean, and, consequently, now became the mother-in-law of the prince, Tippoo. The other two daughters were by a wife of a different tribe, not a first marriage. The Nawaub now, therefore, honoured Turbeut Alí Khan Nayut, by bestowing one in marriage on him; and the other he married to Yasin Sáhib, the son of Yakoob Sáhib, Jamadár, one of the most noble among the families of the Dukhun, and after the most liberal fashion of that country.[s] After this, again being highly pleased with the mild disposition, the propriety of language and manners, and the correctness of

[s] This detail is so involved in parenthesis, as to be almost unintelligible.

conduct of Hafiz Syud Alí, (the son of Shah Sáhib Dukkuni,) a worthy friend and companion of the Nawaub; who had been deputed on an embassy to Hydurabad, and had there negotiated a peace, and strengthened and improved the relations of amity between the Chief of Hydurabad and the noble Nawaub; and who, without the knowledge of the Nizám, or his ministers, with much address had purchased a great quantity of valuable articles and jewels of great price, and had forwarded them to the Nawaub; and, also, had engaged a number of brave and experienced men, well known for their courage, and had sent them to the presence;—taking, into consideration all these services, and wishing to mark his approval of them, he honoured him by uniting him in marriage to his own daughter, and thus exalted his head in both worlds.

As these affairs were all completed in about a year, the Nawaub next occupied himself in the regulation of the affairs of his territories, and despatched officers of justice to all quarters; that, wherever thieves, highway robbers,[t] and cut purses, had extended the hand of depredation and cruelty, they might be punished; and, wherever the foundations of oppression and tyranny had been raised, they

[t] اوچکه

should cause them to be pulled down. As soon as the Nawaub had completed the internal arrangements of his state affairs, he appointed his confidential servants to the charge and possession of different governments and countries, and next employed his time in collecting warlike stores, and soldiers of approved valour,[u] (like Roostum and Isfendiar); so that, in a short time, he assembled under the shade of his victorious standard experienced and able men from all tribes; and, giving pledges of safety and aid to merchants, and the leaders of Karwans of all countries, he attracted (many of those persons, bringing with them) bales of precious stuffs, droves of fleet horses from Irak and Daman,[v] and troops of the bravest men of Iran and Tooran, who had been invited to enter his service, and whom by liberal treatment he made the slaves of his will. He also appointed active disciplinarians, to exercise and teach his troops, and maintained near two thousand able spies and news-writers, in all parts of his dominions, and even in Hydurabad, Poona, Madras, Dehli, Bengala, Iran, Tooran, and Kabul, and was supplied with intelligence by them which he heard with great interest and discrimination. But, especially in every district of the tributary Poligars depending on him,

[u] شکوہ

[v] Also written Maun.

(for he was never at ease respecting them), he employed spies and secret intelligencers, one upon another, and required from them the most minute information and a copious diary. He also, at an immense expense, collected all implements of war, as guns, firelocks, and other European articles, from the ports of the French, Dutch and Portuguese nations.

CHAPTER XXII.

The invasion of Tatia Mahratta the Chief of Mirch, Govind Rao, the son of Imrut Rao, and Suboo Rao Ghatkia, &c., Chiefs of the Mahrattas, from Poona, with the intention to ravage and conquer the country depending on the Nawaub Bahadúr. Also, the incursion of Ibrahim Khan, Dhoonsa, with the same purpose, from Hydurabad; and the making prisoners the chiefs of the Mahrattas, by the hands of the brave soldiers of the Nawaub's army. The retreat also of Dhoonsa, without attaining his object and the conquest of Bullari by the Nawaub; all which occured in the year 1187, Hijri.—A. D. 1773.

While the Nawaub Bahadúr remained in Puttun, and was occupied in making some particular arrangements, and collecting troops and stores; Busálut Jung, the Chief of Adhooni, and the promoter of strife, Morar Rao, combining and concerting together, wrote and despatched letters to the Nizám of Hydurabad, and the chief persons at Poona, containing a request that they would despatch troops into this country, (Mysore,) and pluck up the tender plant of the Nawaub's prosperity and greatness,—for, in the increase of his power and might, they

saw involved, to a certainty, their own decay and ruin. They then remained waiting or looking out for opportunities. Although he knew well the inimical intentions of these treacherous people, still, before some overt act on their part authorized him, the Nawaub did not consider it consistent with his character for courage and the conquest of his enemies to molest or annoy any of them. Seemingly like a listening deer, he was silent; but, in reality, like a hunting leopard, he was waiting an opportunity to spring upon his prey, when, all at once, his spies, from the banks of the Toongbhuddra, successively brought him intelligence, that, the Governor of Mirch had again associated several Chiefs of the Mahrattas with him, and was raising disturbances in the neighbourhood of Badami and Dharwar; that, although the minister of Poona was adverse to his plans, still he, vain and conceited in himself, had raised the neck of pride, and was marching in the direction of Mysore; that the Názim of Hydurabad, agreeably to the request of the Chief of Adhooni and the Hakim of Gootti, had also despatched Ibrahim Khan Dhoonsa, with a well appointed force, artillery, and warlike stores, to this quarter, that as a soldier Dhoonsa considered no one his equal,[w] and was exceedingly vain of the discipline

[w] دم انا و لاغیری میزند

of his troops, and the excellence of his artillery; and that he, like a mad elephant, with the proboscis of fury raised, was advancing towards Mysore. Also, that the Chief of Adhooni had despatched his troops to take Bullari, and that Sufdur Jung, the Commander in Chief of his army, and the Frenchman, Monsieur Lalli, who had the title of Roostum Jung, had already besieged that town, and were prosecuting their operations; but that the Náík, who defended the place, had fought manfully, and vigorously repelled his enemies. The Nawaub now, therefore, appointed Muhammad Alí commandant, with five thousand regular infantry and seven thousand horse, and the troops of Bajee Rao, to attack and repel them, and he himself set them forward on their march towards Dharwar. The gallant Commandant accordingly marched with such speed that, in fifteen days, he arrived at Dharwar, and finding to the north of the fort an open plain, and the dry bed of a river, forming a good ground of encampment, placing the river in his front, he planted his standard and encamped there. The tents, however, were not yet pitched, nor had the loads of baggage fallen from the backs of the bullocks, camels, and elephants, when the Chiefs of the enemy it being the day of the Dussura,[x] with

[x] A festival of the Hindoos.

the whole of their force, guns and stores, ready for action, came on by troops, to make a display of themselves, and exercise their horses, and also with the intention to encamp in that very spot of ground which two days before they had seen unoccupied by the Nawaub's lions. Taking no account whatever of the commandant's force, which appeared to them small, while they in number were near thirty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot with sixteen guns, they without any hesitation advanced the whole together, officers and men, and at once came on to the attack. The brave commandant, with great activity, posted his artillery in advance, and formed his lines of musketry in the rear of the guns ; having stationed on his right wing the Bandárs[y] or rocket men. When, therefore, the Mahrattas had rashly advanced within musket shot, all at once his guns, which had been loaded with grape shot, and were ready for the match, successively opened their fire,—the vollies of musketry being given with aim and precision on the enemy's main body—and, like as the ears of wheat and barley cut by the sickle at harvest are scattered over the face of the ground, so, the bodies of the Mahrattas were scattered on the field of death. In the rear, again, the cavalry, stretching forth the hands and arms

[y] Bhandárs.

of courage, and shouting[z] " Aid from God and victory near,"—threw the dust of defeat on the heads of the conquered. The rocket men, also, firing from the flank, (apparently formed *en potence*) lighting up the fire of strife, burned the camp followers and baggage of the Mahrattas like dry wood in the oven of devastation.

But, to return—The day of feasting became to the Mahrattas a day of mourning; and Tatia, who was a fat heavy man, at the shock of the thunder of the artillery and musketry trembled so, that he lost his seat and fell from his horse on the ground, and rubbed the forehead of his timidity on the earth of supplication. The other cowardly Chiefs, who, from the clouds of smoke rising from the guns and musketry in this hard fought battle, lost their way to safety, who, from the lightning of the swords of the brave, lost the sight of their understandings, and, the range of whose intellect was pierced through, or fixed, by the flashing points of the spear, javelin and mace, now, in the hope of saving their lives, covered themselves with the clothes of the wounded and, with their bodies uninjured, crying, and wailing, rolled themselves about on the ground. The victorious Kuzzaks, now put forth the hand of plunder, and took freely of all they liked to their heart's

[z] نصرٌ من الله و فتحٌ قريب

content, &c. The brave commandant, for this great and unexpected victory, prostrated himself in thanksgiving before the throne of the true bestower of all victory, and having twice[a] performed his thanksgiving devotions, the Mahratta Chiefs were dragged forward, in number ten or twelve, the head of the whole being Tatia, and they were then confined in a tent under a strong guard. Of the elephants, camels, and horses, with other plunder, of which an incredibly great quantity was taken, half was given to the Silahdárs, who in this battle had perilled their lives nobly. To each of the Fakeers, or religious mendicants, who accompanied him, and of whom, whether he was travelling or stationary, forty or fifty always remained round that generous man's door, he gave one horse or camel. The Mahratta females who were taken he divided among the dissipated and such as were fond of women. He then encamped on the same ground, the twin[b] of victory, and despatched to the Nawaub a congratulatory letter on this unexpected success, with a list or return of half the plunder taken, and likewise the names of the Chiefs taken prisoners.

[a] دوگانه شکرانه

[b] I do not understand this well, but it is so in the original.
نصرة توامان

When the Nawaub had heard the terms of the letter from his distinguished servant, and the lists of the captured property, he, in presence of those assembled round him, involuntarily broke out in expressions of admiration, at his valour and judgment; and immediately gave orders, that a salute of one hundred and twenty five guns should be fired, as a testimony of gladness and thanksgiving for this victory, and also that his drums should beat the rejoicing for good news. He also conferred on the commandant kingly presents; a jewelled girdle and a horse with saddle and housings of gold, and he exalted the standard of his rank and estimation above all other of the officers and Khans of his court.—*Verse.* "He raised him above his fellows"—"and distinguished him with great honour and confidence."

During this time, the newswriters of Rai Droog frequently wrote to the Nawaub, that Busálut Jung's commander in chief, although he had besieged the hill fort of Bullari closely for three months, had effected nothing; that the besieged Náík had made frequent sorties at night, and had attacked the batteries of the besiegers, and had killed a great many of the Moghuls;[c] and that Dhoonsa, with his ill omened force, had arrived

[c] The troops of Hydurabad are always called Moghuls in this work.

near Kunukgiri and Gopul, and that the people of the country were terrified at his tyranny and cruelty. As soon as he had heard the contents of these letters, the Nawaub immediately despatched his orders to the commandant, styling him Ghoonsa,[d] to this effect, that he, the Nawaub, had conferred on the commandant the title of Ghoonsa, and that he had appointed him to oppose the further progress of Dhoonsa; that he, (Ghoonsa), was to proceed as early as possible, and attack Dhoonsa, and chastise him as he deserved; and that, please God, he the Nawaub would also fall on him like sudden death, by the route of Rai Droog. He also commanded him to send his prisoners to the presence. Immediately on receiving the Nawaub's mandate, the commandant got his troops in readiness, and marched by forced marches towards the army of Dhoonsa. In the meanwhile agreeably to the orders of the Nawaub, the prisoners and spoil were sent to Puttun, under the escort of a thousand regular and two thousand irregular foot.

The Nawaub now marched from his capital,[e] Put-

[d] Ghoonsa means the fist, or a blow with the fist, in Hindustanni; and Dhoonsa, I believe, a rude push, or shove; but there appears to be some joke, or conceit, in these names.

[e] All mention of the unfortunate Raja of Mysore and his family is avoided from the time of his imprisonment.

tun, and proceeded towards Ruttun Giri, where he halted. Then, leaving there all heavy baggage, the camp followers and artillery, under charge of Purnia, a Mutsuddi of the Tosha Khana, (wardrobe or storeroom of presents) who was appointed thenceforth Chief officer of the baggage and followers, he with the light horse,[f] and the regular and irregular foot, lightly equipped, with only four meals of provisions ready cooked, marched on at such a rate, that, after crossing mountains and forests for two days and two nights, on the third night, he, like an arrow speeding from the bow to the mark, reached the camp of Busálut Jung. In obedience to his orders, his brave troops attacked it on every side, and, with the discharge of rockets,[g] matchlocks, arrows, and camel-swivels, he drove the dark vapours of pride out of the bodies of that force. The horse and foot, of the Moghul army, therefore, who hitherto, like the knot of the Pleiades, had preserved the form of a compact body, being wholly unprepared for the arrival of such a sudden calamity, at once, became loosened, and separated like the daughters[h] of the bier; and, some rubbing

[f] قمچي light, Turkish a whip.

[g] Epithets denoting the execution done by these arms are omitted, being nearly the same throughout the book, such as جگر سوز سینه دوز &c.

[h] A constellation so called.

their hands, and some their eyes, but mostly beating their heads and wailing, put forth the foot of flight; but whole troops of them sleeping on their beds, striking out their hands and feet, drank to the full of the Sherbet of the brave blood-drinkers' swords, and lay stretched out at length on the ground. The commanding officer of the army, thinking the day of resurrection had arrived, ran away with naked feet, and now rising, now falling, sought refuge with the detachment of Monsieur Lalli, which compared with the rest of the army, remained in some degree collected and in order. There he found safety, and the gallant Frenchman, now binding the waist-belt of courage tight round the loins of enterprise, having collected the remainder of his men, whom the sword had spared, and a few Kaim Khani horse, formed them in regular array, with closed ranks, and, preceded and followed by two light guns, marched by night to Adhooni. But the whole of the baggage of his troops, tents, standards, and even to the women of the Moghuls, fell into the hands of the Nawaub's brave warriors.

When the clamour of the trumpets, horns, drums, and kettle drums, beating and sounding the rejoicing for victory, rose to the skies,—the Náík, or Chief of the fort, frightened beyond measure, lighted

up torches and blue lights, and despatched a messenger to learn the news. No sooner was he made aware of the forced march of the Nawaub, and the defeat of the Moghul army, than, not thinking his situation at all improved by these circumstances, and trembling like a reed at the lion-like attack of the Nawaub, he at once so entirely lost his senses and his manhood, that, with his women, a few friends, and some money and valuable jewels, he descended by the back part of the mountain, and, making night marches, and crossing deserts and hills, proceeded towards Bejapoor; but, to the present day, no one has discovered the place of his retreat. All the property of his state, all his household goods, arms, drums, and nagaras, all which had been collected by the Náíks of former generations, he left to the servants of the Nawaub.

The Nawaub was delighted with this piece of good fortune; and, leaving a strong garrison to defend the fort, with strict orders to repair the walls, he with his army marched towards Adhooni, and encamped in the plain of Gulbayen. Thence, he despatched a message to Busálut Jung, that, by enduring privation and hunger for two months, in their endeavour to burn their enemies, his army had been greatly distressed—and that two months' pay, being by the accounts, ten lakhs of rupees, he

was required to send that sum. Busálut Jung, who, in consequence of the defeat of his army, and the plunder of his baggage and property,[h] had been deprived of rest and appetite, was paralyzed by this requisition, but, knowing the critical situation in which he stood, he collected some money from his treasury, and a sum from the pledging of his valuable jewels; and, without any further hesitation, despatched the ten lakhs of rupees, affecting, after the manner of the wolf, a disposition to be friendly.[i] Having done this, he was allowed to remain unmolested.

The conquering Nawaub now marched on, determined to punish Dhoonsa, who had swept the districts of Gujindurgurh and Kunukgiri with the besom of destruction, and who had arrived in the vicinity of Kunchungurh. Muhammad Alí Ghoonsa, also, had arrived in Dhoonsa's rear, by the route of Kuduk, Sirhutti, and Dumul. When Dhoonsa heard of the defeat and dispersion of the Moghul troops, the conquest of the fort of Bullari, the exaction of a sum of money from the Chief of Adhooni, and, also, of the Nawaub's near arrival to attack and punish him, his courage forsook him, and, without obtaining his desire, he made a quick retreat to Hydurabad. The Kuzzaks of the Na-

[h] ثروة [i] گرگ اشتي

waub's army followed him, however, to the neighbourhood of Raichore, and took a great quantity of the baggage of his army, and also two guns, forty or fifty camels of his Tosha Khana, or treasury, and three elephants carrying tents, after which they returned.

At the period when the Nawaub, by his sudden night attack, had put to flight the Moghul army, and had taken Bullari, Morar Rao had left his capital to the charge of Pali Khan, and he himself with his troops took up their quarters in Dhoonsa's camp, and tried to persuade him to attack and subdue the Province of the Balaghaut. Huleem Khan, the Hakim of Kirpa, also, and the Poligar of Chitul Droog, at the instigation of the same firebrand, expelled the newswriters of the Nawaub from their towns, and with their troops and stores assisted Dhoonsa; but, when they found he did not attend to their interested advice, and returned to Hydurabad, all three of these wicked promoters of strife returned, likewise, to their homes, ashamed of themselves; and counter-marching also from that side of the country, the Nawaub honoured Bullari with his presence.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Conquest of Gooti and Soondoor, and the capture of that tyrant, and incendiary, Morar Rao, which occurred in the same year 1187, Hijri.—A. D. 1773.

Although the Nawaub had in every way aided Morar Rao, and had never himself molested him, but, on the contrary, with a view to gain his friendship, had even condescended to call him uncle,[j] Morar had, nevertheless, often exerted his most strenuous efforts to pluck up the tender plant of the Nawaub's greatness and power. From the viciousness of his disposition, he was sealing his own ruin—" the sting of the scorpion is not struck from enmity,"—" it is from his nature." In this pursuit he spared neither gold nor words, spoken or written. Long before this, at the time of the invasion of Trimuk Mama, the able Vakeels of the Nawaub had made a lasting treaty with Trimuk on the best possible terms; when this scorpion by

[j] چچا Hindustanni.

nature struck his sting into the negociation, and stimulated Trimuk to attempt the destruction of the Khodadad Sirkar. This caused a dreadful shock to the Nawaub's power, in the day or battle of Churkoli, and the recollection of that event produced in the Nawaub's heart an effect like salt upon a wound. As Morar Rao's existence therefore appeared to be the source of pure trouble, and the cause of detriment to the props and pillars of his state, the Nawaub occupied himself in considering how he might break down his power. Nevertheless, as a close friendship and intimacy subsisted between Morar Rao and Busálut Jung, and as they were friends both at the banquet and in the field, the Nawaub was rather apprehensive of their united strength, for as the wise say, "two hearts united will cleave a mountain,"[k] "and scatter a host." Thanks to God, the defeat of the Moghuls removed half the difficulty, and the junction of the Rao with Dhoonsa furnishing a pretext[1] for his destruction, the Nawaub desired that, as this opportunity offered itself, he might at once remove him out of the way; for, in his own mind, he was convinced that, while that incendiary lived, the conquest and regulation or subjection of the Khodadad or Mysore territory would never be fully accomplished. After having

[k] Ferhad and Shireen.

[1] تمسّک

completed his arrangements at Bullari, he therefore made the conquest of Gooti, and the capture of that dangerous and intriguing man, the object of his conquering energies, and he accordingly marched in that direction.

The Rao, who had left Dhoonsa's army without obtaining his object, had returned to Gooti, his capital, and had fallen into the midst of doubt and perplexity. The Nawaub, therefore, sent for him under pretence of a wish to see him. Well aware, however, of the folly of his conduct, even while he received no molestation from the Nawaub, and fearing that treachery aiming at his life might be intended to him at the meeting, Morar Rao refused to attend. The Nawaub then sent him another message, to the effect that the entire Talooka of Soondoor should be given up to him, as a provision for his support and maintenance, provided he would, without hesitation or demur, deliver up, to the agents of the Khodadad government, the hill and fort of Gooti and its dependencies which formerly were held in possession by the Náibs of the Kings of Dehli; after which he might govern Soondoor to his heart's content. The Pagan also refused to listen to this proposal; and being surrounded by a strong body of soldiers, he at once rejected the conquering policy of the Nawaub, and prepared to defend himself.

The Nawaub now gave orders to the Risaladárs of the regular and irregular infantry, to encircle the fort, and then commence the attack with their artillery and musketry, and, having on all sides, run on approaches,[m] (saps, trenches, zigzags,) the besieged were reduced to great difficulties. The Nawaub's Kuzzak or predatory horse, at the same time, agreeably to his orders, guarded the hill and forest so effectually, that no man had power to pass through them, for they rendered it impossible for birds to take wing from the fort, or even for locusts or ants to pass through their cordon ; and however often the besieged Rao wrote to the chief of Poona, soliciting aid, and describing his impending ruin, and the determination of the Nawaub to destroy him, yet, for the most part, the Nawaub's picquets seized the letter carriers, and brought them in, and took especial care to prevent the chief of Poona from knowing any thing about him. In fact, before intelligence of the siege arrived at Poona, which was, at last, conveyed by the letters of Busálut Jung, who made it known to all, two or three months had elapsed, and the garrison was reduced to the greatest extremity. The Rao saw that, in a short time, the fort would depart from his possession, and that his wealth, family and de-

[m] صلابت کوچه و سیبها

pendents, would fall into the hands of the brave army of Islám. And now, to complete his misfortunes, the water of the mountain, by which the fort was supplied, it being the hot season, failed, or dried up, like the heart of the poor man; and his stores of provisions and ammunition also had abandoned him, or were exhausted like the days of his youth. Being therefore entirely helpless, he despatched Pali Khan, his minister, to the Nawaub, to tender his submission, and beg the forgiveness of his former offences. When the Nawaub became aware of his humility, his supplications and his forlorn state, he cast the eyes of royal[n] compassion on his hopeless condition, and returned him, by his agent Pali Khan, a kind and conciliatory letter, with a Kowl Nama, or assurance of the safety of his life and property, and invited him to meet him. When the Rao descended from the top on the hill in a palankin, attended by only two or three servants, and entered the camp, the Nawaub ordered a separate tent to be cleared for his accommodation, and placed him in it, sending a garrison of his own men to the top of the hill, and giving up to the Rao his house, that is, the whole of his Zunana[o] or women's apartments, with the

[n] The same kind of royal compassion a tiger feels for a bullock or an antelope.

[o] محل خاص

necessary furniture or utensils, the wearing apparel or clothes in use, and such jewels and gold and silver ornaments as were of small value. But the pearls, and jewels of great price, jewelled ornaments, and other articles becoming the use of a prince, with the arms and warlike stores, and all articles of value, the Nawaub took for himself. With respect to the dancing women of the Telinga tribe, of whom during the Rao's government many companies[p] had been attracted by his liberality, and of whom some had become rich by his gifts, while some even had possession of towns in Jageer, all of whom sought refuge in the Mahl of the Rao, on the top of the mountain, when the siege commenced; to these, excepting the Jageers, the Nawaub restored the whole of their property. Some of the young girls, (virgins)[q] of that profession, with the consent of their masters or owners, he purchased for his own Natiksal,[r] and consigned them to his women's apartments, of these some Táífas or companies he sent to Gunjam, a suburb to the south of the fort of Seringaputtun, on the bank of the river Kauveri, built by himself, and some to Bangalore. The imprisoned Rao however much he entreated to be allowed to

[p] طايفه [q] دوشيزگان

[r] A school for singing and dancing kept in the Hurum of most princes.

visit the Nawaub, received for answer, that the Nawaub had then no leisure ; but that, after his return to Puttun, please God, he would accord his request, and, having committed him to the care of confidential men, and sent him off to Puttun, the Nawaub occupied himself in the conquest of Soondoor.

At this time, the Nawaub's spies brought intelligence, that forty thousand Mahratta horse had been despatched from Poona, to assist Morar Rao, and that they had encamped in the neighbourhood of Gokak Peenth. Having completed his arrangements in the district of Soondoor, the Nawaub considered it incumbent on him to punish these infidels,[s] and had arrived at Husspeenth, with that intention, when the chiefs of the Mahrattas, hearing of the conquest of Gooti and Soondoor, the capture of the Rao, and, also, that the Nawaub was prepared to attack them, they returned to Poona.

During this period, the Nawaub, from motives of policy, manifested displeasure towards the brave Muhammad Alí, intending thereby to repress his pride in the greatness of his abilities and in the respect shewed to him, and a disposition to tread the path of insubordination ; the pretence being that he gave elephants and camels to other officers, and to Fuqueers, without first asking permission, and he was

[s] اشقیا

therefore for some time removed from his Risaldári or command. In secret, however, the Nawaub esteemed him more than ever. Muhammad Alí himself also quitted his Risala, and assumed the cap and garb[t] of a Fuqueer, and cared very little about the matter.

At this time, also, Kishnapa, the Minister[u] or secretary of the chief of Rai Droog, after receiving the Sunnud, or written authority, from Hydur, to recover the little fort of Hurrial, which is situate four kose south of Bullari, and is a dependency of the Droog, after a siege of three months, took that fort. Morar Rao had taken possession of this fort by force, and had placed a garrison in it. The Rao had also seized upon, and attached to the Souba of Gooti, the Talooka of Vinkut Giri, which is situated at the head of the Tubulpully Ghaut, and was formerly under the authority of the Poligar of Churkul. This fort was, therefore, at the same time, placed under the government of the Sirkar Khodadad.[v]

[t] جبه [u] پردهان

[v] Sirkar means the head of affairs and is therefore applied to the state. In India all governments and authorities, great or small, are denominated Sirkar, by themselves and those connected with them.

CHAPTER XXIV.

An account of the conquest of Chitul Droog, and the capture of Bhurma Náík, the rebellious Poligar of that Fort; and other events of the year 1188, Hijri.—A. D. 1774.

After the Nawaub had made a prisoner of Morar Rao, and thereby cut up the root of mischief and sedition, he was more at ease in his mind; and, having also completed his arrangements for Gooti and Soondoor, he determined next to punish that head of the list of rebellious personages, the Poligar of Chitul Droog, and in pursuance of this resolve, he turned his ensigns, the emblems of victory, in that direction. The cause was, that, in order to favour the Nawaub's enemies, who had invaded and plundered his country, and had raised the standard of injustice and wrong to oppress and disturb the peasantry of Mysore, that insolent infidel[w] had intrigued and combined with them and had exerted himself to the utmost in laying waste the Nawaub's territory and

[w] غاور

in ruining God's people, the poor inhabitants of this country, seeking his advantage in the injury and destruction of others. Outwardly, indeed, and with great sycophancy, he affected to manifest perfect devotion to the Nawaub, while, in secret, he employed his time in conspiring to destroy and root out the foundations of the Khodadad government. It was consequently necessary, and in fact, indispensible, to break the pride of that insolent infidel, and root him out, if only to preserve the peace of the country; especially as Kishnapa, the Purdhan or minister of Rai Droog, who had often without cause suffered indignities at the hand of this Poligar, and whose country had been ravaged by him, now incited and stimulated the Nawaub to attack Chitul Droog, and even engaged to pay for the whole of the powder and ball which would be used in the siege. The urgent persuasion and entreaty of Kishnapa determined the Nawaub in his purpose. At the same time, also, having resolved to attack Goori Kota, Jureemla, and Mulkalchuro, towns or forts which were in possession of the brothers-in-law of that infidel Poligar, the Nawaub despatched Hybut Jung, with a large force, to attack the Poligar of Hurpunhully, and take possession of his territory.

An abstract[x] account of the cause of these move-

[x] جمله معترضه

ments, is as follows :—At the time the Nawaub was marching to attack Raghooba, a man, one of the civil servants [y] of Hurpunhully, who had been born and bred in the service of that state, and was intimately acquainted with the secrets of that government, sought the service of Hydur Alí ; he was received and entertained among the most respectable class of servants, and was also appointed to enlist foot soldiers in that quarter. Having by degrees perfected his knowledge of all matters, great and small, relative to that state, he began to compass and contrive the ruin of his old masters ; and as the Poligar of Hurpunhully, whose name was Jug Shoom Shunkur, was a prudent man, after he became acquainted with the man's intention, being afraid of the loss of his property, and the desolation of his country, and thinking it best to repair the dykes or mounds of the reservoir before the waters broke forth, he addressed a letter to the Nawaub, containing a request that the person in question should be sent by the Nawaub, to his residence, and stating that the Paishkush, or tribute, should be forwarded through his agency. To this proposition the Nawaub agreed and despatched the incendiary to the Poligar, with a newswriter,[z] named Vinkut Nursoo, having given him strict orders to do his duty to the Sirkar (of

[y] This man's name is never mentioned.

[z] اخبار نویس

Mysore). When this man arrived, and met the Poligar, the latter with sweet and oily words, gained complete possession of his heart, and he was presented with an honorary dress, a string[a] of pearls,[b] jewelled gorget, and golden armlets; and the Poligar said to him, " the government of our state must now depend on your wisdom and judgment; and when we have a wise and an old faithful servant like you to aid and direct us, how can we receive injury." By this gross flattery, the heart of the fool was drawn into the snare of deceit.—" A fool can always be deceived by a wise man,"—" by food, or drink, or dress, or the tongue,"—and at once he was introduced by the Poligar into all the business of the state and all was placed at his discretion, even so far as to be allowed to enter the Poligar's particular residence, that is, the women's apartments, and was supplied with all kinds of delicacies for his eating and drinking. But, the wise say,—" from the bad to expect good is pure folly,"—" will you feed a scorpion to wound you?"—The man, therefore, proud of his employment by the Nawaub, and insolent from the patience and indulgence of the Poligar, which, however, was merely political, began to tyrannise over the servants of the Raj or state, and to distress the poor people,

[a] جوماله [b] پدک

whom, with the peasantry of that country, he vexed or grieved without cause. Indeed, without fear or hesitation he did whatever he chose; and, in addition to all this oppression and cruelty, he stretched forth the hand of lust on all beautiful women, the wives, and property of others, and daringly violated their chastity. The people were consequently driven to extremities by his tyranny, and complained against him to the Poligar. He, however, simply gave them for answer, that what the person in question did, he considered to be for the advantage of the state; and that if they could, for a short time, wait with patience under his government, they might stay, but if not, let them depart in safety. Many of the most respectable persons in the service of the Poligar, being entirely discouraged on hearing this, left their houses and the country; yet, notwithstanding the heart-breaking distress of the people of all ranks, the Poligar never attempted to interpose, or restrain this disturber of the public peace; but, on the contrary, daily made him happy by presents and favours.

At length, one morning, the Poligar sent for his own horse, with saddle and trappings of gold set with jewels, and, with much instance and intreaty, made this person mount, and sent him home. At this time, however, it had very nearly happened

that from this man's tyranny and oppression, some great evil had befallen the Poligar's state; and he, therefore, laid a deep scheme. Seeing that the man was perfectly at his ease, and that he put forth the hand of oppression without scruple or fear, to rob people of their wealth and honour, the Poligar, on the same evening, when about ten hours of the day had passed, placed a number of armed men in concealment, and then sent for the man to his hall of audience. On his arrival, he told him he had something to say to him in private, and pointed towards the room in which the armed men were concealed. The fool, seized by the hand of death, no sooner entered the apartment than he found his head under the sword of retribution, and he ceased from troubling mankind any longer.

As soon as this was transacted, the Poligar gave himself a wound on the hand with a pen-knife, and, with the blood trickling down from this wound, sent for the Nawaub's newswriter, and said to him, "an accident has happened, which is neither fit to be heard nor related; for, notwithstanding the kindness and indulgence I have ever shewn to this ungrateful person, still he could not depart from his evil nature, but, without cause, drew his dagger upon me, intending to make himself the heir to my possessions and wealth. In these circumstances,

my faithful servants have put him to death. These facts, as they are stated to you, put into becoming language, and make them known to the Nawaub, that doubt or suspicion may not enter his mind." Having said this, he secretly seized all the property in the man's house, and, placed it in his Tosha Khana, or treasury; and in the night, with the intention of providing for his safety and that of his property, he despatched all his women, treasure, and articles of necessity, to the opposite bank of the river Tungbhuddra and himself, with his horse and foot, lightly equipped, marched off to the mountains of Narayen Gir, leaving his capital to be defended by his brave and trustworthy servants.

When the letter of the newswriter, detailing the above events, reached the Nawaub, he immediately perceived that the Poligar had been making up a false story, to conceal his treachery, and had acted so daringly from the fear that his secret movements and actions would be disclosed. The Nawaub, therefore, in great anger, and with all the parade and energy of conquest, marched a body of troops in that direction. Fyze Ullah Khan, one of the wisest and most experienced men of his age, who commanded these troops, although he according to the Nawaub's orders, made a forced march there, and besieged the forts of Oojni and Kootoor,

and, to inspire fear despatched his horse to plunder the towns and villages of the district, still drew the Poligar into the snare of his stratagems, and, by wise reproof, corrected him and brought him to the right path. But, as the Poligar was fearful of the consequences of his acts, he, with the repentance and humility of the wise, came forward and agreed to pay seventy thousand rupees, as a composition for his offence, exclusive of the usual tribute, and requested he might be forgiven. He also sent a Vakeel with these proposals to the Khan above mentioned, who despatched the Poligar's letter, with one of his own, to the Nawaub. Being desirous to reduce or conquer the country depending on the Droog, (Chitul Droog), the Nawaub, with a view to the policy of the time, despatched an honorary dress of forgiveness, and a Sunnud, confirming the Poligar in the possession of his country, through the medium of Fyze Ullah Khan, and likewise sent for the money with the Poligar's troops, to strengthen his force. The Poligar, therefore, being now reassured, returned to his capital, and, along with the money in question, despatched thence two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, in aid of the Nawaub; after which he was allowed to remain as before.

The Nawaub now completed the conquest of

Goori Kota, Kunkupa, Molkalchur, Dudheree, &c., and left strong garrisons in each place. But although, through the medium of other Poligars, who were then with the army, the Nawaub sent requisitions, by writing and otherwise, to the Poligar of the Droog, (Chitul Droog), proposing that he should give up his capital, to the agents of the Nawaub, and accept service, and a Jageer of fifty thousand rupees annually, in lieu thereof, he refused, and from pride and insolence, would not listen to the advice or promises of the Nawaub, but advanced further and further in the field of opposition. As, however, he felt aware that at that moment he had not strength to oppose or contend openly with the gallant troops of Hydur, he considered that the best remedy in this case was to fill up his hill fortress, (which for its magnitude and strength holds a very high rank), with provisions and munitions of offence and defence. He moreover filled up all the ghauts leading to or belonging to the fort, with foot soldiers, he had collected together, and which body amounted to two thousand brave men, with two guns, and two thousand horse; and, having their arms in good order, they remained ready for the attack. The infidel Chiefs or officers likewise, being with one heart and one voice bent on fighting the army of Islám, and

having sanctioned or confirmed their determination with oaths, prepared, at the signal of their master, to arrange all things necessary for the defence.

The Nawaub, however, with a very large army, and a body of excellent artillery, after the exertions and labours of a year, and the loss of the lives of thousands of brave men, took the ghauts in the neighbourhood of the fort; and, when he arrived near the walls of this very strong hold, he gave orders to his brave fellows seeking fame, to surround, and attack it on all sides. Every day, also the infidels, armed to the teeth, came out from the fort, and gallantly assailed the bravest and noblest of the Ghazies, or Mussulman soldiers. On the side of the Nawaub, the noble and distinguished Khans, and Foujdárs, with their brave companions, came forward, and ranged themselves in front and in line with the ranks of the infidels, and daily, with arrows and the sword, sent great numbers of them to hell.[c] Agreeably to the orders of the Nawaub, all the pioneers of the victorious army with hatchets,[d] and axes, were meanwhile employed in cutting down the woods or jungle, on the same hills

[c] دار البوار

[d] It ought to be mentioned perhaps, that epithets such as, "arrows splitting the hard rock,"—"the well-watered sword," "the artillery roasting and burning their enemies," &c. are omitted as unnecessary.

near the fort, which, in the face of the enemy, they surrounded with a strong stockade. They also raised batteries under the slope of the hill, which lies to the westward of the fort, and mounted guns in them, and from thence continually battered the walls to breach them. But although, in a few days, the walls were levelled with the ground, and the towers and gates were dismantled and afforded no shelter, still the besieged, every night formed a new wall of earth in their places to cover themselves, and sallied out from the fort, and raised the confusion of the day of judgment among the guards and sentinels[e] at the batteries; and taking the heads of the slain and tying them to a string, they hung them round their necks, like red roses and thus returned, and received rewards from their Chiefs for the deeds they had done.

The Nawaub now began to revolve in his great mind, that the siege had continued to a considerable length, but that, with all the exertions of his brave army, the insolent Poligar had not yet been reduced. He, therefore, by presenting Muhammad Alí land in gift and Jageer,[f] soothed and conciliated him, and sent for him to the presence. Muhammad Alí, in his reply, asked what he (the Nawaub) wanted with him, and what he required

[e] یزکداران

[f] مقاصا

from a poor man who had abandoned the wicked world? On receiving this impudent answer, the Nawaub, outwardly affected great anger, and despatched Alí Zumán Khan, Budrooz Zumán Khan, and Ghazi Khan, to bring him to the presence; and they immediately went to his tent, and, with soft and hard words, brought him to reason, and presented him to the Nawaub. Hydur, notwithstanding his regard for him, addressed him in angry language, and said, "Aí Sáhiban, O Friends, say, if a low fellow among my servants takes upon himself to make presents of camels and elephants, what should I, his master, be able to give?" —Those present replied, "Bulli (or true) the fault is great; but, agreeably to the exceeding kindness of our master, it ought to be forgiven; for, 'of a truth, God loves the righteous[g] or merciful.'"

Muhammad Alí, rash and impudent, notwithstanding the signs and hints of his companions, broke out, and said, "my honoured[h] master, the presents and gifts made by me were purely for the increase and advantage of your own service; for, as the wise say, 'a labourer pleased or well rewarded will do the more work.' And you will also please to consider, that honours, and increase of pay, the gifts of districts, towns, Jageers, &c. re-

[g] انّ الله يحب المحسنين [h] قبله كاها

mained entirely in your own hands." But, to be concise, after a few words, mixed up with advice, he received a dress of honour, restoring him to his rank, with a Gorget and Jomala, or a string of pearls. As a return for the dresses and presents he had received Muhammad Alí now asked for an increase of pay monthly, for the men attached to his troop, or division, that they might exert themselves the more heartily in the Nawaub's service; and the Nawaub, after many objections, increased their pay by adding two rupees to the monthly allowance of each man; and he then despatched him to attack his enemies, and take the fort.

No sooner had the brave commandant arrived among his own people, than he sold the Gorget, pearls, and dresses of honour, he had received, and with the proceeds purchased the materials for a feast; and, having caused a most delicious dinner to be cooked, divided it among the Fuqueers or religious mendicants, and his own men, and the same night, accompanied by the Hurpunhully and Rai Droog foot soldiers, he, like an angry lion, assaulted and took a battery, which might be called the nose of the fort, and upon which, indeed, the whole strength of the mountain depended; and with four Risalas of regular and two thousand irregular infantry, and six guns, he fixed his station there.

The Chief of the fort, at the head of two or three thousand infidels, now determined to attempt the recovery of this strong position, and exerted himself strenuously to effect its recapture; but still, every time they attacked it, the welcome intelligence,[i] "God will aid thee, and give thee a great victory," sounded in the ears of the Mussulman troops. As the soldiers of the enemy now grew weaker every day, they were not able to contend openly with the brave Moslems; and, fear seizing on them, they no longer dared to step beyond the walls of the fort. When, however, the garrison was reduced to extremities, troops of them of all tribes, fearing the loss of their property and honour[j] crept out of the fort, under pretence of fetching wood and water, and joined the Nawaub's army, and only five or six thousand men, of the Bedur tribe, had the courage to exert themselves in defending the fort.

The Nawaub, however, seeing that the Chief of the infidels was a very brave man, and that the keepers of the walls were also stout of heart, was convinced that the fort would not immediately surrender, and that, by obstinately persevering, he would only gratuitously sacrifice the lives of his brave men. He therefore left, under cover of the

[i] ينصرک الله نصراً عزيزاً

[j] Women.

surrounding hills, an ambuscade,[k] consisting of five thousand foot, two thousand regular foot, and a thousand horse, and gave them orders to look out for an opportunity, and all at once to attack, and, having taken the fort, make the Poligar prisoner.

The Nawaub himself, decamping from the foot of the mountain, now pitched his tents four fursungs from that place. His plan was this, that if the Poligar left the fort, and presumed to follow him, he might attack him on all sides at once, and destroy him.[l] If, on the contrary, the Poligar did not follow him, it was his purpose to give to his (the Nawaub's) tributary or dependent Poligars the charge and government of all the towns and villages depending on the Droog, that they, with a view to their own advantage, might use every art to seize and make him prisoner.

On the day the Nawaub marched, he set fire to the materials of the batteries and trenches, which were of wood, and had been collected at a great expense. As soon as the besieged became acquainted with this movement, the whole of them, with the greatest impudence, manned the battlements and towers of the fort, beat their drums, and began yelling and howling like a pack of hounds. Meer

[k] كمين

[l] Take off his head like an ivory ball with the Choukan of the sword.

Alí Ruza Khan marched from the same encampment, with his own troops, for the purpose of the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Meer Gholaum Alí Khan, otherwise called Guloomaen, the Jageerdár of Bikhun Pilly, to whom he was affianced; and also to find out the intentions, plans, and strength, of Huleem Khan, and to receive the Paishkush or tribute due from him. He therefore marched towards Kirpa. The Nawaub himself halted a week in the same place.

At this time, the season for the breezes of victory to wave the Hyduri standard, was fast approaching; for the sons of the Chief of Juremla arrived in the camp. This Chief was the father-in-law of the Poligar of the Droog, and, during the siege, was in the fort with him; but, after the siege was raised, he obtained leave of the Poligar to pay his devotions at the shrine of an image, the temple containing which was situated at the foot of a small hill, at the distance of a fursung from the fort, and thither he proceeded with a few horse and foot. The motive of this journey was, however, entirely misrepresented to the Poligar by interested persons, and he was informed that his brothers-in-law had proceeded with an intention to visit the Nawaub, and negociate for the release of their own Jageers, that they might be free from being molested by him. The infatuated Poligar, on hearing this trumpery

story, became jealous and suspicious of them, and ordered his executioners to follow them; and they accordingly followed, and cut off the head of his innocent father-in-law, and plundered his house. His sons, who were adoring the idol, had not lifted up their heads from their prostration, when the news of the murder of their father and the plunder of his house arrived. This intelligence caused a sudden revolution in the feelings and sentiments of the brothers; and, plunged in astonishment and grief, they consulted as to what they should do in such circumstances, and, swifter than the wind or lightning, they turned the bridle of their views and intentions towards the Nawaub's camp, where, through the medium of the Vakeel of the Poligar of Hurpunhully, who bore the same degree of relationship to them with the Poligar of Chituldroog, they were presented to the Nawaub, and immediately placed the sandal of devotion on the forehead of friendship and obedience,[m] and were made happy with Royal dresses and presents.

The Nawaub having granted the Sunnuds of the Talookas of the Droog to these devoted friends, after the Droog or hill fort should have been conquered, both the brothers strove the more to stimu-

[m] Alluding to a custom of the Hindoos, who draw lines of pulverised sandal wood on their foreheads to denote their sect.

late and incite him to attack the fort, and moved on before him. The Nawaub, therefore, according to the suggestions of these intelligent well-wishers, again marched to the fort, and appointed his Chief officers and Foujdárs to the points of attack. The brave Mussulmans now, in the course of a week, gave convincing proofs of their power to break down the forts and overcome their enemies; and by a path, shewn to them by guides,[n] such a path as the eyes of fancy never figured, nor the imagination of the learned ever conceived, they made their attacks. After a little fighting, the bonds which united the garrison of the fort were broken asunder, and, like falling leaves in autumn, they were dispersed and scattered on all sides, while the besiegers, now fearlessly mounting the hills, beat their drums, in token of victory, and watered the swords and spears of their resentment in the blood of the infidels, and beat the black dust of existence out of the bodies of the unfortunate garrison.

When the Chief heard the drums within the fort, and saw the heads of his men rolling about on the plain of revenge, like the balls of boys at play, he understood well that fortune was now bidding him farewell, and that the genius[o] of wealth

[n] سوراغیان Men who trace footsteps. [o] شخص

and prosperity was about to depart from him. He did, indeed, leave his house armed and ready for the fight, but, when he saw that most of his bravest companions were killed or wounded, and that the few men round him were without arms, rubbing their hands, and shedding tears, the feet of his firmness failed him, and he stood like a picture painted on a wall; till the brave Commandant with other officers came upon him and seized and made him prisoner, and brought him to the presence, in the year 1191. H. Committing him with his women and children to the care of his confidential servants, the Nawaub sent him and them to Puttun. The Nawaub distinguished and rewarded every brave officer and soldier in his army, on this occasion, by giving them presents, dresses of honour, and increase of pay.[p]

[p] An anonymous author relates, that on taking Chitul Droog, Hydur ordered the Raja to be thrown from the top of a precipice and he was dashed to pieces: he says, moreover, that his name was Sir Sookh Todur.

CHAPTER XXV.

The march of the victorious standards towards Kirpa, and the capture of Huleem Khan, the governor of that place. Also, the conquest of Gunjee Kota, &c., occurring in the year 1191, Hijri.—A. D. 1777.

The Nawaub was three years in conquering Chitul Droog; but, as soon as that was accomplished, and the fort and its dependencies had been taken and occupied by the agents of the Nawaub, he nominated a certain Dowlut Khan, an old servant, who was originally of the Naimar or Nair tribe, to take charge of the Droog, and the management of the dependencies was in all respects committed to his discretion. In reference to this man it is proper to mention, that, at the time Nundiraj resided near Suttimungul, the Nawaub being employed in making arrangements with the Poligars of that quarter, and in collecting the Paishkush, Dowlut Khan, then a boy, was taken prisoner or fell into his hands there, and was brought up

by him in tenderness and care as one of his own children.

The Nawaub, with his army, now passed to this side of the Ghaut; and encamped some days at Mungul; and here, for the purpose of testing or trying the service and loyalty of his Foujdárs (civil servants) and Sirdárs or officers of his army, and of the high officers of government, the obedience of the Poligars, &c., in short, to ascertain also who was his friend and who his enemy—he concealed himself, for some time, and gave out or caused a report to be spread, that he was dead, and at night a chest as a bier was despatched to Puttun, filled with Utr or essence of roses, and Ubeer,[q] under the charge of certain singers[r] or chanters. When the evidence of this news was seen in the chest or coffin, the cries of grief and lamentation extended through the army and country, and the sound of weeping and wailing was heard from every door, and every tent and pavilion, until it rose to the heavens. Sighs and moans burst spontaneously from every breast, and dismay oppressed the hearts of the officers of the army and the governors of forts. Notwithstanding the hearts of all were broken with anguish, still, among the officers

[q] A sweet smelling wood much used in India.

[r] مولودیان Men who chant verses on the birth of Muhammad.

of the army and the troops, no diminution or excess in the duty of the camp was manifest; neither did any breach of the regulation or order of the civil government of the country occur. The Prince also, (Tippoo), did not in any matter rashly put himself forward. When, however, this political lying report of the Nawaub's death, he having all his faculties alive, was received by Huleem Khan, he immediately made presents of sweetmeats [s] to his friends, and beat his Nobut or kettle drums, for joy. It happened, however, that intelligent and observant spies wrote an account of this insulting act to the presence, and, at the relation of the circumstance, the flames of Hydur's wrath burned furiously, and he resolved on the destruction of Huleem Khan.

After a short time, having satisfied his mind as to the fidelity of his officers, and servants, he took his seat on the throne of wealth and power; and, in reward of this good service, he distinguished them, and made their hearts glad, by giving all of them presents and dresses of honour. He then displayed his victorious standards, and the army marched towards Kirpa,[t] to punish the Afghans. This was scarcely done when letters arrived, from Meer Alí Ruza Khan, stating that the Afghan of

[s] A custom in India on hearing good news. [t] Cuddupah.

Kirpa, Huleem Khan, had withdrawn his foot from the circle of obedience and friendship, and that his troops were formed ready to oppose the Nawaub; that a line of soldiers had been drawn up on the road, to stop the passage or advance of Alí Ruza Khan; and that he, (Huleem Khan), had also posted artillery and rockets on the road, to impede their progress; and that he was still collecting troops. On hearing these tidings, the anger of Hydur flamed violently, and he hastened on with all his brave troops to that quarter, by forced marches.

When the Hakim or Chief of Kirpa heard that the lion of the field of battle was advancing with a large army, he trembled with fear at the approach of the strong armed soldiers of the Nawaub, and despatched Muhammad Ghiaus, as his embassador, to the Nawaub, to solicit the pardon of his offences. The Vakeel arrived, and, after kissing the ground, performed to the utmost of his ability his duty towards the Afghan; and, seeking his master's advantage, desired that the edifice of enmity should be replaced by the foundations of kindness and friendship, in opposition to the usage of former days. In reply to these propositions, the Nawaub said, "your master pretends friendship for me openly, but in secret he has raised the head of pride, and followed the path of intrigue, and enmity; and, on hearing

the report of my death, he in joy distributed sweetmeats for the good news, and expelled my Anchi Wala or newswriter from the town.—Good God! with all this disgusting pride, and malice, and folly, is it possible he can expect grace or forgiveness?—Gratitude for the many benefits and favours which I conferred on him, and for having kept the tender plant of his fortune and condition flourishing in the garden of maintenance, has been all forgotten.—'His fortune will be of his own making.'—Now, therefore, tell your master to get ready to defend himself; for we shall very soon reach him."

After the unsuccessful embassador had been thus despatched, spies brought intelligence, that the Afghan of Kirpa had assembled his troops, and had placed them under the command of his nephews; that is, under the sons of Kurma Mean, (the son of Mujeed Khan,) whose names were Husseini Mean, and Saeed Mean, and had despatched them towards Dhoor. In fact, a very severe action was at that time fought between the Afghans and Meer Sáhib,[u] and in that engagement the Afghans were victorious. As soon as this intelligence reached the Nawaub, he advanced rapidly with his horse, foot and artillery, and, at about midnight, fell on the heads of these men like sudden death; and, with rockets and musketry,

[u] Meer Ali Ruza Khan.

broke the chain of their order, and many of these wicked Afghans were thus made food for the edge of the unsparing sword. Nevertheless, the commanders of the Afghans, although they were inexperienced, and mere boys, planted their feet firmly and fearlessly in the field of manhood, and, with Nagaras beating, and mounted on elephants, retired towards Kirpa. The Nawaub, with all his horse, had followed them four fursungs, as far as Balsan Hully, when night ended, and the light of the morning appeared. The Kuzzaks, Silahdárs, and the Dustadárs, of the victorious army now surrounded and hemmed in the Afghans; and, from the first fragrant breeze of the morning until midday, the drums and trumpets never ceased to sound the charge, nor the market of hard blows from constant traffic. Every individual Afghan gave such proofs of his skill in the use of the sword, that their prowess is still recorded in the page of memorable events; and the young lads, mounted on their elephants, plied their arrows with both hands so fast, and gave such proofs of courage, that two thousand brave and experienced men of the Nawaub's army were slain by them. At length, however, all this intrepidity and pride ended in flight, and the Afghans were forced to throw away their shields, and seek refuge in the small fort, the Hulli, above mentioned and there they remained.

The artillery, according to the Nawaub's orders, now opened their fire, and, battering the walls of the fort, soon levelled them with the ground. When they saw that they were neither able to fight nor retreat, the foolish young men surrendered and were made prisoners with Sidi Hulal and three hundred Afghans; and the whole of the elephants, horses, and military stores, that is, bows, arrows, spears, swords, and tents, heaps on heaps, fell into the possession of the servants of the Nawaub.

After being blessed with this victory, the Nawaub marched on, and captured the town of Kirpa at the first assault; and, from the pomp and magnificence of his army, of victorious presage, the environs of that town became the envy of the starry heavens. The Nawaub here placed the captured Afghans in a tent near his own; the two brave young chiefs were, however, imprisoned in their own house.

The next day the Nawaub directed the arms of the Afghan prisoners should be taken from them; fearing that, as they were rash, foolish, men, they might attempt some act of violence or treachery. When, therefore, Abou Muhammad, the Mirdah or chief officer of the Peons[v] or messengers of the Presence, a man of great respectability, and an old and faithful servant, went to them to ask for their swords and shields, he at first desired to get posses-

[v] پیسولان

sion of them by stratagem;[w] and accordingly he said to the Afghans, "Gentlemen, I beg to inform you, that the Nawaub is perfectly enchanted by the skill and excellence of your sword practice; he wishes therefore to be allowed to inspect your arms, and, for your honourable service will present each of you better arms, from his own armoury." In answer to this the Afghans unanimously declared that, while the loan of their lives remained with them, their swords should never come into his hands. When the Mirdah returned to the Nawaub with this insolent answer of the Afghans, the Nawaub immediately ordered a number of matchlock men to proceed to terrify them with their matchlocks and bayonets, and take possession of their weapons.

When the musketeers went and stood before them, the Afghans saw that the issue of their affair depended on the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the musket, and four brothers of their number, the sons of Abdurrizak Khan, Dowlut Zai, whose names were Jubbar Khan, Suttar Khan, Ruhman Khan and Kadur Khan, all Chiefs among that tribe, careless of life, after repeating the Fatiheh,[x] madly drew their swords and sallied forth.

[w] لطايف الحيل

[x] The first chapter of the Koran.

Killing five or six matchlock men on their way, they took the path to the Nawaub's tents. On their arrival there, however, the spear men and the sentinels of the guard killed three of these men at the door of the Nawaub's tent; but the fourth or the remaining one rushed into the tent. Aware by some means or other of his approach, the Nawaub with his dagger[y] slit down the wall of the tent, and escaped to the Dewaun i Aum, or the tent of public audience, and the rash perfidious Afghan, seeing the tent empty, began to repeat the Lahowl,[z] to signify his astonishment and mortification, and rubbed the back of his sword on his foot. But, while he was doing this, an executioner stole behind him, and separated his head from his body.

From this circumstance, the Nawaub conceived a bad opinion of the whole of these men,—Truly,—"If one man of a tribe commit a fault,"—"neither the respectability of the little or great is spared,"[a]—and Hydur, in his anger, therefore gave orders to his hard-hearted executioners to cut off the hands and feet of the Afghan prisoners at the joints with axes and saws, and thereby gave a bitter potion, as an example, to the tongue and palate of the rest; and these men, with the blood streaming from their

[y] نیمچه   [z] لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله

[a] Gulistan.

legs and arms, were carried through the streets and lanes of the town, and were then left outside the walls. Some of them, however, to save their lives, pretended to be Syuds[b] and Shaikhs, and thereby escaped punishment.

After this occurrence, the Nawaub sent a party of steady experienced infantry into the town, and despatched the Kuzzaks, or plundering horse, towards the fort of Sudhote, where the Chief of the Afghans, (Huleem Khan), had sought refuge. The horse, before mentioned, having marched by night to Sudhote, began to plunder, and destroy the country near the fort. In the morning, the Hakim or Chief, seeing troops upon troops of these bravoes plundering and setting fire to the houses, he sent out a man to enquire the reason. His messenger on his return, told him that the army of the Nawaub had defeated his troops, and that the hands and feet of the Afghans, in consequence of their violence, as has been before related, had been cut off with the hatchet and saw of anger and revenge. Also that the Nawaub had taken the city of Kirpa at the first assault, and that the horse near the fort were his light cavalry, sent forward to plunder. Huleem Khan, on hearing this, fell into deep fear;

[b] Syud is a name given to the descendents of the Prophet.—Shaikh signifies a chief or an elder.

and, with the counsel and advice of certain of his short sighted Khans, proclaimed, that all his servants and the inhabitants of the town, with their women and families, property, money and jewels, should during the night retire to the hill country, near Chitul Droog; and they accordingly proceeded thither. It happened, however, that the keen-sighted Kuzzaks had some intimation of this movement, and that multitudes of men and women, with great quantities of heavy baggage, and articles of value, such as gold and jewels, were quitting the fort, and journeying towards the hilly country; and they immediately set out after them at speed, and, attacking them on the road, omitted no indignity or cruelty in plundering the night wanderers, and without compunction seized on their wealth, violated their women, and falling in with some Afghans, (who apparently had charge of these people) they put them to death and then returned.

The foolish Khan, when he heard these circumstances, was greatly afflicted, and ashamed at his want of prudence. The next day the Nawaub himself mounted his horse, and, with his army and artillery, marched to Sudhote; and, having encircled the fort like a ring, he encamped there. The Khan, having no power to oppose the lion-hearted troops of Hydur, and being without resource, again despatched Muhammad Ghiaus to the

presence, with professions of complete submission, and, being ashamed of his conduct, begged pardon for his former offences. When the Nawaub became acquainted with his sorrow and abject humility, his generous spirit and comprehensive clemency came into operation, and he contented himself with demanding ten lakhs of rupees, and the fort of Gunjee Kota, as the price of his forgiveness. As Huleem Khan had not even two lakhs of rupees in his treasury, this requisition of the Nawaub plunged him into deep thought, and uncertainty; and the silence and delay which were thus occasioned by this shuffler continued so long, that the Nawaub, in anger, ordered Meer Alí Ruza Khan to attack and take Gunjee Kota; accordingly, he, who was only looking out for such times and such orders, marched with his own troops, and besieged the hill fort, and after the labours of a week, he took it, and despatched his letter of congratulation on its capture to the Nawaub, who appointed an able Ameen, or collector, and a brave governor, to establish and preserve order in the fort, and its dependencies, and then recalled the Meer to the presence.

When the news of the capture of Gunjee Kota reached Huleem Khan, he became still more disordered[c] in his senses than he was at first; but,

[c] منتشر الحواس

being remediless, he despatched his Dewaun or minister, Abdurrusool Khan, accompanied by Muhammad Ghiaus, to the presence. These men delivered their verbal message in language replete with eloquence,[d] and in terms remarkable for their propriety and elegance, to the effect that Abdul Huleem Khan had drawn the head of shame under the hood of repentance, and that he had assembled his family and children in one apartment, and had surrounded it with a store of gunpowder, and that, with a portfire in his hand, he was waiting the result of their message; but that, if his life could be spared, he was a man who might render acceptable or approved service to the Nawaub, and therefore that they begged the Nawaub would take him by the hand.—"To have pity on any one's misfortunes shews greatness."—"To grant any one his desire is greatness."

The Nawaub, having well considered the grief and deep humility of the embassadors, at length spoke, and said, "my first wish is that you would allow two flags, with two companies of matchlock men, merely for the honour of our name, and to shew the friendship which connects our families, to remain in your fort for two hours; and, after that, I will draw the pen of pardon through the list of

[d] شرين زباني

your offences, great and small." When the embassadors, well pleased, returned therefore to their master, and made him acquainted with all the Nawaub had said, and persuaded and urged him to conform to the orders of the Nawaub, he whose horse-shoe was in the fire, that is, whose necessities were pressing, with the appetite [e] of a religious beggar, listened with a willing ear, and ordered his servants, both horse and foot, who garrisoned the fort, and were ready for action, and who had frequently requested permission to light up the fire of contention, and commence the attack, to leave the fort. Some of the Khans, also, who had placed the foot of courage in the field of opposition to these orders, were dismissed with sour looks; and Huleem Khan sat still, waiting patiently. The Nawaub, meanwhile, having cleared the rust of uncertainty from the mirror of his heavenly [f] mind, despatched to the fort four thousand regular infantry, of the red and yellow regiments, with two victorious ensigns, to the commanding officer of which detachment however he gave secret orders. Immediately on entering the gates of the fort therefore the officer left half his men at the gate and ramparts adjoining,

[e] بسم الله شاه پیرزاده

[f] ملکوت مناظره Looking towards or at the abode of the angels.

and he himself with the remainder, proceeded straight like an arrow, and seized the mild Huleem, who was then sitting in his Hall of Audience. Having made him a prisoner, he put him into a palankin, and sent him, with his personal and other servants, to the presence. All this having been effected, the whole of the city and suburbs were committed to the charge of Meer Alí Ruza Khan; and, the Nawaub's mind being then at ease, he returned to his capital, Seringaputtun, where he gave himself up to pleasure and enjoyment.

Abdul Huleem Khan, however, with his women, relations, and other dependents, were brought to Seringaputtun, and imprisoned in the Gunj Aum suburb, and a sufficient allowance was made for the expences of his establishment. His son-in-law, named Syud Muhammad, escaped by night with his wife to Naugpoor; but his other son-in-law, whose name was Behlole Khan, remained with him. In the course of time, they all, one after another, left this vain perishing scene, and thus escaped the wasting troubles and miseries of this world.[g]

[g] From Hydur's character, there appears but little doubt that their departure was hastened by his kind offices.

CHAPTER XXVI.

An account of the Marriage of Hydur Alí's youngest son, Kureem Sáhib, with the daughter of Hukeem Khan, Meeana, the Governor of Sanore; and the Betrothal of the Nawaub's own daughter,[h] the rose of the Garden of Purity and Chastity, to the Son and Successor of Hukeem Khan, in the capital, Puttun, 1192, Hijri.—A. D. 1778.

At a former time, the Nawaub selected and obtained in marriage the bright star of the constellation of Chastity, the daughter of Mehdi Beg, a Jamadár, who commanded two hundred horse at Arkat. The circumstances of the case were these, that after this officer's death, his two sons Hussaini Beg and Moraud Beg, with their sister, leaving Arkat to obtain service, had arrived in Mysore, where the Nawaub sought and married[i] their sister. This lady had a son, who was named Kureem Sáhib, and also a daughter; but, after giving birth to the latter, she died of a mortal disease, and departed to

[h] The Lady's name it appears was Kennie Sahibeh.

[i] This work is rather remarkable for the length of its parentheses and digressions.

Paradise. A Bayadere, or dancing girl, named Zohreh,[j] a favourite of the Nawaub's, brought up the son and daughter with great care and tenderness, until they reached years of discretion; and the Nawaub himself regarded this son with increase of favour. At this time, therefore, the mind of the Nawaub being at rest from the prosecution of his measures[k] for the prosperity of the Khodadad state, he began to think of the marriage of his son, and make arrangements for its celebration. Hukeem Khan, the Afghan Chief of Shanoor, was not well affected to the Nawaub, and had frequently deviated from the path of confidence and friendship, but the political views of the Nawaub required that the enmity and hatred, which had subsisted between them, on both sides, should be replaced by relationship and marriage, and that thereby comfort and assurance should be given to the mind of the Khan. He, therefore, despatched Vakeels, with letters of congratulation on the projected marriage, informing him that he abandoned his claim for tribute from his possessions. At the same time, to produce an effect, there followed in the rear of these embassadors, a strong body of troops, under pretence of foraging, but well supplied with stores, and ready for action. When these able embassa-

[j] Venus.

[k] رتق و فتق

dors arrived at Shanoor, they visited Hukeem Khan and presented their letters, and also delivered a verbal message to him, to the effect that, for the possession of dominion enjoyed but a few days, and which at most could last but a short period, it was best that the dust of enmity and strife should be allayed by a sprinkling of the pure water of peace and good will, and that the carpet of opposition and distrust should be rolled up and removed, and the foundations of intimacy and friendship raised and strengthened by the ties of family connexion; and that, acting together, they might wage war with greater effect on the infidels, and, that as a result of their union, the whole, body of the Mussulman people, and the high and low of all tribes, might repose happily on the couch [1] of comfort and safety, and continually offer up prayers for the lasting prosperity of their government. The well weighed words of the embassadors made a strong impression on the heart of the noble Khan, and, like the gentle rain, washed away the dust of doubt and enmity from his mind; so that at length he lent the ear of acceptance, and cast the eyes of thankfulness, on the wise and salutary message of the Nawaub, and the contract of agreement and friendship was arranged and settled, on the following terms,—That Hukeem

[1] مهد

Khan's daughter should be united to the Prince[m] in marriage, and that the sister of the Prince, the emblem of chastity, should be united to the eldest son of the Khan. It is to be observed here, that the attainment of this great object arose from the following causes; the Nawaub, from his high rank and station, the abundance of his means, his prosperity and excess of wealth, had no peer or equal among the newly risen chiefs of power and rank; the proud and haughty chiefs of different parts, whom the sultans and governors of former times, with great armies and mighty preparations, had vainly spent years in labouring to subdue, he, on the contrary, in a very short time, by his personal bravery and conquering sword, had completely overthrown and destroyed; and to that degree did he exert himself, in the subjection of the proud and insubordinate, that, in the towns or districts of Mysore, the name of rebel or rebellion no longer existed; and whenever, he heard of a stronghold in the possession of a rebel or an enemy, he, either by the force of policy, or by strength and courage, cast down the walls, and destroyed it. His victorious standards, also, to which ever quarter they might be directed, never lowered their heads until they threw the ensigns of their enemies, reversed,

[m] صاحبزاده

into the dust of disgrace and contempt. Instances of this, are to be found in the ruin of the power of Morar Rao, the Náík of Chitul Droog, and the Afghan of Kirpa; and the weight of these examples threw terror into Hukeem Khan's soul, but, most of all, the advance of the detachment of troops, following the embassadors, gave him the greatest uneasiness. But, if it had not been so, the pride and insolence of the Afghan race are too well known, to need further mention. In short, the fortunate Khan accepted the offer of the Nawaub with thankfulness, and despatched by the Vakeels[n] letters, couched in the style and language of congratulation and friendship, with presents and honorary dresses; and next occupied himself in preparing the feast and ornamental arrangements of the bridal day. The Nawaub having therefore his mind at ease, now invited the consenting Khan, with his family and servants, to his capital, Seringaputtun; and, having completed the forms of felicitation to his worthy and honourable son, and done the honours of the royal feast and banquet, the two propitious stars were placed in real conjunction at the fortunate hour; and in the same form, and with the same ceremonies, the sister of the bridegroom was married to Abool Khire Khan, otherwise Khira

[n] Ambassadors or Agents.

Mean, the son of Hukeem Khan. After the leisure consequent on the celebration of these marriages, the distinguished Khan, leaving his daughter and son and a body of troops with the Nawaub, returned to Shanoor, and the Nawaub remained at his capital.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The second expedition of the Nawaub Bahadúr, to conquer the country of the Karnatic Payanghaut, at the instigation of the Názim of Hydurabad, and the Poona ministers, in the year 1194, Hijri.—A. D. 1780.—With an account of the victories gained by the lion hunting Moslems in that expedition.

The causes and materials of the grandeur and power of the house of Hydur increasing day by day, and every one of his Khans and brave officers being distinguished for affection to his person, and devotion to his service, the fame of his conquests, and the destruction of his enemies, and the report of his liberality, and the protection afforded to the poor by this nourisher of mankind, penetrated to all quarters of the world; and as at all times, the world shared and enjoyed the benefits dispensed from the table of his bounty, and as the shower of gold from his generous hand continually moistened and refreshed the garden of the hopes and desires of all kinds of men, the result was, that

the whole of the towns, fortresses, and cities of Mysore assumed a new form of beauty and splendour; for at that period, no Chief of high military talent and power remained, the Nawaub alone excepted, who, with the strong hand of power, and by the art of subduing his enemies, had broken the necks of those who had raised them in pride[o] and vain glory, and, by his daring and intrepidity, had drawn the whole of the cautious and wily, both infidels and Mussulmans, into the net of subjection and servitude. The heavenly[p] mind of the Nawaub, therefore, now that the bride of wealth and dominion had fallen into the close embraces of his conquering fortune, being content and at ease on all sides, resided at Puttun, enjoying himself, and occupied, also, in the collection of warlike stores, brave soldiers, horses of Arabia and Irak, powerful elephants, &c. Viewing, however, the number of his troops, the splendour of his equipments, and the pomp of his court, the thorn of grief and jealousy penetrated the hearts of the envious Chiefs of the Dukhun; that is, the hearts of Nizám Alí Khan, and the Chief of the Mahrattas, and to break down the power of that nourisher of the poor, and, dispenser of benefits, (Hydur), they exerted their utmost endeavours. At this time therefore when the foun-

[o] رعونت [p] ملکوت مناظر

dations of the kingdom and kingly fortunes of Hydur were doubled, he having chastised, and made obedient to his will, most of the insubordinate Rajas of that part of the country who in greatness and pride had raised their heads to the clouds ; nay, from day to day, had increased his ascendency so rapidly, that their fear was lest he should wrest the whole of the Telingana and Mahratta countries from them, they laid deep schemes and plans, and, agreeing in word and spirit, they both despatched embassadors, with presents and dresses of honour of great value to the capital of the Khodadad state, who, with a friendly tongue, and openly manifesting great regard, delivered their message, to the effect that the blood shedding English had usurped or made themselves masters (of part) of this country, and that they had also taken entire possession of the province of Bengal, " the mole on the cheek of Hind ;" that the whole of the province of the Karnatic Payanghaut they considered as their military fief, and that their power increased every day ; that they, (the English) kept Muhammad Alí Khan as a hired servant, and reigned under the shadow of his name ; that, more particularly, the infidel Raghoo, the assassin of his son,[q] had by their assistance effected the plunder and destruction of the

[q] Nephew.

country of the Paishwa, that is, the Mahratta empire; that most of the peasantry, payers of taxes, of that country, had been ruined and destroyed by him; that he had cast away from his wicked heart all remembrance of benefits he had received from the Paishwa's government; and though, by the mercies of the eternal, and the aid of good fortune, he had received signal punishment,[r] still the present danger was that, from the remaining of the English in this country, the flames of strife would be lighted up again and again. To avert this evil, they urged, that when the conditions of amity should be firmly established between the three families, their enemy would then have no power to contend with or intrigue against them; that it was necessary, therefore, nay, indispensable, for them united to remove the English out of the way, and then they might reign in peace, and without the intermeddling of strangers, and that, they had agreed and sworn to keep the following engagement, namely, that whenever either of the contracting parties, should have an object to attain, they should proceed together, and together use their best efforts to effect the same. As, for instance, that they two had agreed and sworn, and

[r] Perhaps alluding to the defeat of the English detachment at Tulligaum.

had bound the girdle of endeavour tight round the loins of their courage, to do away with the tyranny of the English of Bombay.[s] What measures, therefore, did the glory of the house of prosperity and power, (Hydur,) propose or advise in the matter? But at all events Hydur might be certain that, when all the contracting parties united in heart and word, the conquest of the Karnatic Payanghaut, and even the whole of Hindustan, might be accomplished in a very easy manner. "When two kings unite in heart, there is no path left for sedition."—"In peace, if two kings light a lamp"—"their cities and armies will be illuminated;"—"but if they turn their faces to the battle field,"—"they bring calamity upon the earth from heaven."—"Better is it therefore, that we should turn our faces to peace,"—"and adopt liberal sentiments towards each other." In these measures it was, they said, necessary no delay nor negligence should occur. God forbid that a difficulty should arise, the remedy of which might not be easily obtained, even by the united strength of the brave troops of all parties.

On hearing this deceitful language, the Nawaub, who, by his caution and penetration surpassed all other the most renowned Kings and Princes, re-

[s] Tulligaum.

fused to lend a willing ear to their proposals, and, in reply, said, " Your stimulating words of advice are from the tongue, not the heart, and to listen to such fool-deceiving propositions, would doubtless be highly imprudent and dangerous for this reason,—that the reins and direction of your government and policy are in the hands of incompetent, avaricious, and indolent, ministers; — and that, knowingly and willingly, in many places and in the most critical times, shameful deception and treachery have been practised by them, and undoubtedly the same will occur again; and, that in case of such a recurrence, the contracts and treaties made between the parties, would be cut sharp off." That nevertheless, following the dictates of his high courage, the protection of the weak, he " had bound up his loins to exertion in this cause," " and that all the warlike materials to destroy their enemies were ready," that, his prudence, however, would not allow him to admit, or his frank heart to believe, their assertions, when they declared that, reposing confidence in their boasting troops, and effeminate Ameers, they intended to fight, or fancied they could contend with, the lions,[t] ranging over the face of the whole earth, or suppose that they could bear the weight of the labour and anxiety of

[t] Meaning the British troops.

such an undertaking on their indolent minds. He called to their recollection, that the people they so hated (the English,) were united among themselves, both in heart and language, and it was for this reason that, in all places and times, they were so successful. If, however, they, (Nizám Alí and the Mahratta,) were sincere in the policy on which they had apparently decided, they were to advance towards that country, (the Carnatic,) with their troops in the best order, and, with all the strength of their artillery and warlike stores; and he himself would be ready at that time. But, if they decided otherwise, he requested they would trouble him no more on the subject.

When the Eelchees, or embassadors, detailed to their respective masters this just answer of the Nawaub, they on both sides, sanctioned and strengthened the articles of this treaty with the most solemn [u] oaths; and the future arrangement of the country, and the establishment of their power, such as might be required, being repeatedly discussed, they opened to each other their ultimate views and determination. It was, therefore, concluded, that the Mahrattas, with the whole weight of their forces, should put the horse [v] of

[u] غلاظ

[v] Alluding to the game of Chess, the Knight.

attack in motion for the conquest of Bombay; that the chief of Hydurabad, with his army of city soldiers, should march to take possession of Mutchli Puttun, and Raj Bunduri;[w] and that the Nawaub should direct his conquering ensigns towards Arkat.

In conformity to this plan of operations, both the princes pitched their tents and standards outside the walls of their respective capitals, and ordered a muster of their officers and troops.—The Nawaub Bahadúr, although he was nearly certain that the Moghuls and the Mahrattas were neither true of tongue nor heart, and that they would not continue to the end in the same mind, still, after maturely considering the strong treaties, and conditions of agreement, which they had newly contracted, took upon himself, with a firm confidence, the responsibility of the war, and, having despatched gold, jewels, and rich cloths, to the two grasping potentates, and thus made them happy, he set free his determination to make the conquest of the Karnatic Payanghaut, and despatched a letter to the address of Muhammad Alí Khan, requiring him to deliver up the fort of Nuthur Nuggur, (Trichinopoly,) in conformity to his treaty or agreement, the account of which was fully given in a former part of this work. As Muhammad did not return a pro-

[w] Masulipatam and Porto Novo.

per answer, the Nawaub, immediately commanded the attendance of his Ameers, Khans, and Foujdárs, and, in a very short time, in obedience to his proclamation, his chief officers, with their troops and military stores, marched to the capital. According to his engagements, therefore, the Nawaub with his brave army,—(*Verse*, " An army that never felt the bitterness of defeat:" " Troops that never tasted the poison of flight, or despair:" " horses under them like raging lions." " Spears in their hands like the twisted serpent:")[x]—directed his standards towards Arkat. But, previous to the commencing of their march, he gave orders to muster his forces, and those to whom the charge was consigned, presented the Nawaub with a return of twelve thousand horse of his own Paigah or guard, ten thousand Kuzzak or predatory horse, fifteen thousand Sillahdár horse,[y] twenty-four thousand regular infantry, and sixty thousand irregular foot, with seventy guns, exclusive of the Poligar chiefs, with their contingents.

About the middle of the month of Rujub, 1194,

[x] لشکر ناکشیده قهر شکست
سپهي ناچشیده زهر فرار
باره در زیر شان چون غرّان شیر
نیزه در دست شان چون پیچان مار

[y] Independent horsemen, who are engaged horse and man.

H., the Nawaub descended by the Ghaut or Pass of Chungum, and pitched his tents, high as the sun and moon, in the environs of Kilpauk,[z] and, from the same encampment, detached his youngest son, Kureem Sáhib, with the Kuzzak horse, towards Muhmood Bundur, while he himself, with his innumerable army, marched on and took the small hill fort of Turnamul. He then besieged the fort of Jeet[a] Peeth, and gave orders to his conquering soldiers to attack the town. After the commandant, who was a Sikh, named Gooroo Buksh, had held out with great spirit two or three days, he was killed at one of the gates of the fort, and the fort was therefore taken. From hence the Nawaub, after leaving a detachment at the fort of Dhobi Gurh, despatched his son Tippoo, with a strong body of troops, to reduce Arni and Tumri; and then, turning his victorious standards towards the capital of Arkat, encamped near Nimukpeeth and Ghalibpoora, and next invested the fort and town of Alumpunah, against which he ordered batteries to be raised. The chiefs in the fort, namely, Achna Pundit a Brahman, (otherwise called Raijee Náib, Souba, and who had also the title of Raja Beerbur, Bahadúr, the founder or builder of the Alum Punah), and Nujeeb Khan, Salar Jung, Bahadúr, with five

[z] Written also Kalispauk.

[a] Chittapet.

thousand regular infantry, two thousand horse, and four hundred dismounted Ashráf, (that is, men of good families,) held themselves in readiness to repel their enemies, and filled the capital with stores of provisions, arms, ammunitions, and materials for defence, and then arranged themselves for action. Two or three thousand Ashráf inhabitants of the place, of all tribes, who rose in arms merely to defend their families and preserve their honour, were conciliated by a daily allowance, or subsistence, in money, and the show of a great deal of deference and respect; and the gates and bastions of Alum Punah also being confided to the inhabitants of the Muhlas,[b] they fought desperately.

Kureem Sáhib, meanwhile, when he moved off to Mahmood Bundur, met with no resistance; and having by night marches arrived at the town, he surrounded, and, at the first assault, bravely took possession of it, and plundered the houses of all the wealthy merchants, bankers, and traders, of bales on bales of merchandise, and bags on bags of gold and jewels. The next day, the whole of the wealth and commodities taken from all the merchants, who had expended millions of rupees in commissioning or procuring them from different parts of the world, for the purpose of barter, were collected in one place.

[b] Quarters of the town.

Amongst the rest was the whole of the property of a certain Muhammad Mokrim, a man of the Bohra[c] tribe, the Chief of all the merchants, and the owner of three or four merchant ships, who about this time had purchased thirty-five Jhawah or young elephants, of eight or nine years old, sixty Tankun, or ponies of Manilla and Pegu, and also cloths of great value, and dresses of honour from the countries of Bengal, Bunaras, China, Kashmeer, Boorhanpoor, Mutchliputtun, &c. All these articles were taken, and laden on elephants, camels, bullocks, and carts; and with the merchant to whom they had belonged, and his dependents, as prisoners, were sent to the Nawaub.

The Prince, (Tippoo), after he had taken leave of his father, proceeded to Arni, and encamped there, and gave orders to attack the fort. Budruz-zumán Khan Bukshi, accordingly raised a strong battery, to the westward of the fort, and in one day fired a number of cannon shot into the place. The Killadár, or commandant, whose name was Hussain Alí Khan, and who, even in his dreams, had never heard of battle or fighting, much less witnessed any thing of the kind, lost all heart, and,

[c] The Bohras are a tribe of newly converted Mussulmans, residing mostly in the N. western Provinces of India; they are chiefly merchants and traders.

ornamenting himself with his unworthy arms, and taking the keys of the fort, he sought the presence of the Khan above mentioned, and, through his mediation, was presented to the Prince, and delivered up the keys as a Paishkush to his servants. He then represented, that in the fort there were many houses inhabited by Syuds, or descendents of the prophet; and being in fear lest the Syudanian, their women, might be insulted or violated, he had given up the fort and its dependencies; but that, otherwise, he would have defended them as long as he had life. The Prince, at hearing this foolish story, laughed outright, and having placed a garrison in the fort, Sidi Imám, an experienced officer according to the orders of the Nawaub, was appointed its Commandant. Taking with him the former Killadár, the Prince then marched towards Tumri, the Chief of which also gave up his honour to save his life, and, without a shot from either gun or musket, surrendered the fort. Still advancing, therefore, Tippoo took possession of the small forts of Trivatoor, Gulwa, Kaveripauk, &c., and, placing strong garrisons in each, returned to join his own army.

It is proper to mention here, that, while the lion-hearted Nawaub, thus threw terror and dismay into the country of the Payanghaut, Nizám Alí

Khan under pretence of sickness, did not stir from his capital; and the Mahrattas, also after some movements, having by treaty obtained possession of the person of Raghoo[d] from the English of Bombay, remained where they were, and gave no assistance whatever to the Nawaub.

[d] The usurper Raghoonauth.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The advance of the English Army, under the command of General Munro, from the vicinity of Madras, towards Gunjee, and that of the detachment under Colonel Baillie from the neighbourhood of Kottoor Mungulgiri, and the defeat and destruction of the troops under the command of the Colonel. Also, the Conquest of Arkat, and the taking prisoner of Shukoh-ul-Moolk Nuseer-ud-dowla, Abdul Wahab Khan, the brother of Muhammad Alí Khan, Suráj-ud-dowla, in the strong Hill Fort of Chunder Giri; and an account of the different successes obtained in the same year 1195, Hijri.—A. D. 1780.

When the Nawaub Bahadúr, with his numerous army, marched to the conquest of the Payanghaut[e] country, Muhammad Alí Khan, the governor of the Payanghaut, who previously at the instigation of his enemies had imprudently disbanded his own army, and in their place retained a few militia indispen-

[e] The Balaghaut extends according to the map, from Guntoor to Nundidroog, or thereabouts. The Payanghaut, which signifies the foot, or below the Ghauts, or mountains, is apparently the Eastern Coast of India, from Vellore to Namkool.

sable to his service, of whom but a small part where matchlock men, was completely humbled, and, in order to keep off Hydur's fierce lions, he insisted on the support and aid of the English.

The commanding officer of the English troops, whose name was General Munro, with six thousand regular infantry, one thousand five hundred regular cavalry, and two thousand European soldiers, all being equipped and ready, marched from Madras, by the route of Choongul Peeth (Chingleput) and the mountains of Sewram, to Gunjee, to oppose and drive back the conquering Hydur.[f] Colonel Baillie, at the same time, marched from the neighbourhood of Kottoor, which district Busálut Jung, the Chief of Adhoni, fearful of the incursions of the Nawaub, had given to the English, with whom he had contracted a close intimacy, for the payment of the Colonel's troops, and the whole of the collections of the Talooka were committed to his authority. Having been appointed to the superintendence of that Souba, the Colonel, now that circumstances rendered it necessary, marched with three thousand regular infantry, and four hundred Europeans, (who had arrived from Killabundur), and eight guns, by the route of Wankul and Nellore, towards Arkat. The

[f] Hydur is almost always described as a Lion, which his name also signifies.

Nawaub, on hearing this news, immediately despatched Tippoo, with the Nawaub's own Paigah, the Sillahdárs, and four light guns[g] to keep off the force of the Colonel; and the whole of the Kuzzaks, (predatory horse) and rocket-men, were placed under the command of Sidi Hillal Khan Bukshi, a servant of the Afghan of Kirpa, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Balsun Hulli, and was entertained and received in the highest rank of the Nawaub's servants. This man, an active and brave soldier, was despatched, with the light troops, to harass the camp of the general, that he might surround it, and, by continual noise and desultory attacks, stop the supplies, and shut up the road against all reinforcements, (to the aid of the Colonel.)

In the mean time, Prince Tippoo, terrible as a lion, fell in with and engaged the force of Colonel Baillie,[h] in the neighbourhood of Sutweer, or Sutobur, and blocked up the road of safety to his detachment; keeping up an incessant cannonading, sniping, and skirmishing with that body. Although the Colonel, notwithstanding the number and constant attacks of Hydur's brave men, showed no appre-

[g] Gallopers, apparently. The number of regular cavalry with General Monro, is said, in one MS. to have been five hundred only.

[h] The manuscript appears rather defective at this part, to us the most interesting in the book.

hension of them, but marched on, fighting, to the neighbourhood of Tukool and Purimpauk, a town about six kose from Gunjee, still, however, from the superiority in numbers of the conquering army, he was reduced to great difficulties, to which was added the total want of wood and forage. The General (Munro) therefore, selected from his army fourteen first companies, called in the language of the English, grenadiers, and these, with some stores of provisions, bottles of wine, and ammunition, &c. he despatched to the Colonel's assistance; while he himself halted, intending to move on as soon as the Colonel had joined him; and had the Colonel made a night march after the companies had formed a junction with him, he would, undoubtedly without any difficulty or danger, have arrived at Gunjee; but it happened that his troops were overpowered by fatigue, and, to rest and relieve them, he halted for the night.

The moment the Nawaub heard this intelligence, he quitted the siege of Arkat, and, with his army, the emblem of victory, he arrived by a forced night march, and effectually closed all the roads of escape to Colonel Baillie's force; and, having posted his guns in readiness on all sides, he waited for an opportunity to begin the attack; however, the same night, in order to increase the confusion and terror

in the country, he detached five thousand horse towards Chitore, and the country of the Poligars of that quarter.

As soon as the morning dawned, and the king of the heavenly travellers, drawing his conquering sword from the scabbard of the east, put to flight the starry host, the Colonel commenced his march. The Nawaub, meanwhile, having arrayed his troops with the greatest skill and care, now gave orders for the attack, and the officers of his regular infantry and artillery took up their positions. On one flank, Muhammad Alí, the brave commandant, Shaikh-Oonsur, and others, and the regiment of Chittikars, of whom Monsieur Jani, a Frenchman, was the commandant, lighted up the fire of mortal strife. On the other flank Monsieur Lalli, the Frenchman, who had been the servant of Busálut Jung, but, after the defeat of his troops near Bellari, being discharged from his service, was entertained by the Nawaub, with a body of two thousand regular infantry, five hundred Europeans, or Portuguese,[i] and a hundred Allemand horse, now zealous in the Nawaub's cause, by pouring perpetual volleys of balls and bullets on the English, so straightened the field of battle on their troops, that, notwithstanding the bravery and great exertions of the

[i] کلاه پوش

Colonel, it was impossible for him to join the main army. But, although the thunder of the guns, the deadly storm of musket balls, and the lightning of the rockets, made dreadful havoc among the troops and followers of the Colonel, still they stood firm, until mid-day, under cover of a grove of palm trees, close to the town of Purimpauk. Soon after this, however, Lalli, the Frenchman, discovering with the telescope of his intellect and science, the position of the enemy's ammunition, fired a shot from a heavy gun at the Colonel's tumbrils, all of which had been collected in one place. By accident, the ammunition blew up, and, by the shock of the explosion, the bonds[k] of union of the Colonel's force, were broken up. Seeing this opportunity, the brave horsemen of the Paigah or household cavalry, on one of the flanks, like a thunder cloud in the spring season, rushing and shouting charged the broken troops in a body, and plying the bow and arrow and the keen sword, they gashed the heads and breasts of their enemies. On the other flank, the Sillahdárs, like the blazing lightning, fell on and destroyed the harvest of the array of their enemies, and dyed their blue swords, red as the ruby, in their blood. With but little labour, therefore, the soldiers of the Colonel's force, with their officers,

[k] شیرازه

and all the camp followers, were crushed under the hoofs of the Nawaub's horse. This, however, was not done without the loss of two or three thousand of the bravest men of the conquering army.[1] At length, the Colonel (Baillie), with a number of officers, was taken prisoner, by the address or management of the French officers.

After the conclusion of the battle, the Nawaub immediately marched, intending in his mind to attack the army of the General, which was reposing very comfortably at Gunjee. He however encamped at the distance of two fursungs, giving orders to his Kuzzaks, or light cavalry, and Sillahdárs, to exercise the greatest vigilance, as scouts or picquets, in surrounding the General's army. When, however, the General heard of the defeat of Colonel Baillie's force, and his having been taken prisoner, he, being himself full of doubt and anxiety, threw all his heavy guns and heavy baggage into the reservoir, or tank, of the Temple at Gunjee; and at night took, with his force, the road to Choongul Peeth, (Chingleput). The Nawaub, when aware of his retreat, followed him, in the darkness of the night, to Sewram; but finding that no advantage was to be obtained, he detached his horse to surround the General's army, and also appointed

[1] About the number of Baillie's detachment.

one of his confidential servants, with a force, to take possession and charge of the fort of Girgut Paleh; then, returning from the pursuit, he that day encamped at Gunjee.

On the following day, the Nawaub again surrounded the city and fort of the Dar-ul-Amareh, (Arkat), and issued his orders, to his Risaldárs of the regular and irregular infantry, and the Poligars attending his camp, to attack and take that strong fortress. On all sides, therefore, deep trenches were dug, batteries raised, and approaches by sap pushed on; and, with continual firing, the walls were soon battered down, and breached, and, moreover, by throwing the Colonel's (Baillie) shot and shells and rockets into the town, the inhabitants were cast into the greatest consternation and confusion. Yet, notwithstanding, all this discomfort and misery, the defenders of the city held out gallantly for three months, and manfully withstood the assaults of the rank breakers[m] of Hydur's army. It is proper however, to mention, that the citadel was defended by two companies of Europeans, and three hundred recruits, disciplined after the European fashion, who had lately arrived from Rai Vellore, and were ready for the defence. In short, on both sides, exertions were made to that extent that the son-in-law of the

[m] صف شکن

Nawaub, Syud Hafez Alí Khan, was killed, in the western battery, by a cannon ball; and many of the chief officers and men of the victorious army were also slain. On the other side, Syud Fureed-ud-dín Khan, the Kurrooreh of the city, that is, the chief of all the Kotwals of the province, a prudent and a brave man, was likewise slain by a cannon ball. The walls of the city, however, having been battered down, the besieged became very much straightened; and, from the loss of the brave Syud, great disorder fell into their discipline and arrangements, in so much that, being terrified, every one kept his house, and cast away his confidence and manhood.

At the expiration of this time, one night, towards morning, the Nawaub gave orders to assault the works; and his most tried and experienced men having, on all sides, planted their ladders against the walls of the town, they at one assault took the place, and by plundering and slaying their enemies, completed their conquest. Achna Pundit, who was sleeping comfortably in his own house, was taken prisoner with his family, as also were Urshed Beg Khan, Chishti Yar Khan, the Commander of the dismounted men, Syud Humeed, Tumboo Nair, Commandant, &c. Nujeeb Khan, however, crept into the Ark or citadel, and shutting himself up

with the English troops, placed himself in security.

The next morning, the Nawaub visited the city, and, in all the streets and markets, caused safety to be proclaimed to the people, (particularly to the poor and destitute,) that none of his troops might oppress or lay hand on the wealth, or women of the people of the city, and he gave safety of life and property to all the inhabitants. In the course of two or three days, the Nawaub gave orders for the presence of Nujeeb Khan, and of the officer commanding the English troops, who still firmly maintained the Ark or citadel; and his ministers accordingly, despatched the terms of capitulation, sealed with the seal of the Nawaub; and, manifesting towards them every courtesy and kindness, invited them to the presence, and Nujeeb Khan, reposing confidence in the word of the Nawaub, presented himself to him with his body of regular infantry and the Europeans, and the Nawaub sent him to Cheena Puttun, (Madras,) under the escort of a small party of light cavalry. The Khans above mentioned, with other men of high rank of Arkat, were employed by the Nawaub in suitable offices, according to their degree and ability, and with liberal salaries. They were, moreover, honoured with dresses, and presents of gold and jewels.

Syud Humeed, commandant, a man of high reputation, was honoured with a One Munzil Palkee, and four hundred rupees a month, and was appointed to command a body of four thousand matchlock men. To Meer Sadik, (the grandson[n] of Meer Ahmud Khan, Jageerdár of Wuhul Koor, one of the Munsubdárs of the Souba Sura,) who had been for a long time Kotwal of the Bazar of the Nawaub's army, and was also intelligencer and counsellor to the Nawaub, was given the Soubadári of the city of Arkat.

About this time, the Nawaub's Hurkaras reported to him, that Abdul Wahab Khan, the brother of Muhammad Alí Khan, had committed the fort of Chitore to the care of his Dewaun, whose name was Rai Bhojung,[o] and to the Poligars of Mokuli, Vinkut Giri, Mogul, and Bhingari; that he himself had strengthened and repaired the hill fort of Chundur Giri, and was busily occupied in enlisting horse and foot; and that it appeared his intention, after collecting troops, was to march to Cheena Puttun, (Madras), and join the English army, and then attack that of the Nawaub. On hearing this news, the Nawaub determined to march immediately to that quarter. Meer Alí

[n] By the female side.

[o] In this part there is some slight difference in the MSS.—but I have followed that belonging to Her Majesty's Library.

Ruza Khan (who had halted one night at Chitore, when he returned with his troops from Kirpa, and had received the hospitality of Abdul Wahab Khan, and had then acquitted himself of the obligation, by advising and even earnestly soliciting the Khan, by message, if he had any intention of seeking the honour of an introduction to the Nawaub, to join the Nawaub's army, before any troops were ordered against him: and, if not, that he should fly for refuge where he might be safe, seeing that, if he contemplated opposition to the Nawaub, he might expect his own destruction, and the ruin of his family and children, the Khan, however, being then involved in doubts and uncertainty, left the fort of Chitore to the care of his servants, and made Chundur Giri his residence and refuge, and he remained there, expecting a visit from Hydur,) at this time, therefore, immediately arose, and represented to the Nawaub, that Abdul Wahab Khan had quarrelled with his brother and that although he intended to visit the Nawaub he had been too unwell lately to carry his intention into effect; that at all events, what power had the poor man that he should rise up in opposition to the Nawaub; and that, whenever the Nawaub chose to command him, he would attend without delay.

After the state of the Khan had been ascertained,

the march was, therefore, put off, and Meer Moin-ud-dín, otherwise called Syud Sáhib, the nephew of the Meer, who was ennobled by the office of Bukhshi to a Dustah or regiment of horse, was sent with a strong force to that quarter to bring him to the presence. The Meer[p] before mentioned, was also detached with his division of troops, to reduce the tributary Poligars of the Souba of Arkat; that is, the Nairs of Kalistri, Vinkutgiri, Bimraj, &c. The Prince Tippoo with five thousand regular foot, two thousand (Ahshám)[q] foot, and a thousand horse was sent to reduce the western forts of that Souba, and to take possession of that part of the frontier.

When Syud Sáhib was despatched on his mission by the Nawaub, he made a forced march by night, and surrounded the fort of Chitore, which he summoned to surrender. The officers commanding the garrison of the fort having, however, stated the orders of their master as an excuse or apology for not obeying the summons, and preparing to defend themselves the Syud commenced the siege, and placed the foot of manhood in the field of exertion to capture the fort. On the second day he established some guns on a hill, to the southward of the fort, and at the end of ten days the brave be-

[p] Meer Alí Ruza Khan.

[q] احشام Irregular infantry with swords and matchlocks.

siegers mounted the walls, and notwithstanding the great strength of the fort, it was taken by assault. The commandant of the fort and others were placed in confinement, and having consigned the fort to the care of his brave and experienced soldiers, the Syud marched towards Chundur Giri. On the first day that he encamped before the town, he despatched a message to the besieged Khan, that the Nawaub wished to see him, and that, if his safety was precious to him, he must attend immediately. Having neither power to resist, nor strength to flee, the Khan was struck with fear and astonishment, and sought advice and assistance in replying to the summons, from his family and his Khans, and thus deferred sending an answer. It happened, at this time, that the cavalry of the Nawaub's army advanced towards the mountains, to forage for grass and wood, and the careless short-sighted Killadár, without the knowledge of his master, opened a fire from the guns of the fort upon them,—Truly, many kings of great renown, and many princes of great power, have seen the face of ruin, and have been reduced to beggary and want, by foolish and inexperienced servants.—This conduct threw the commander of the Nawaub's troops into great difficulty, and he became satisfied that the Khan intended to resist the Nawaub. He, therefore, immediately des-

patched a detailed account of what had occurred, and of the Khan's neglect in not sending an answer to his invitation, and selecting a position for a gun on the slope of the mountain, and near the walls, he then fired a few shot into the fort on the summit. It chanced that the first shot fired struck the Zunana or women's apartments, and caused a great concussion; so much so, that cries of grief and alarm burst forth from the inmates of the Muhl. When the besieged Khan saw the effect of the lightning-raining gun, the order of the Nawaub's foot and horse, and the promptness with which they had seized the position on the slope of the mountain, he gave up all his hesitation and delay, and his fears excited such a tumult in his nerves and veins, that he became paralytic. He, therefore, retired into his Zunana, and, entering the chamber of chagrin, laid himself down on the bed of inexperience. No sooner had he done this than another ball, like the sighs breathed by the widow and orphan, flew up straight from below, penetrated his kitchen, and struck a cauldron full of victuals on the fire. In short, from the rapid arrival of shot, one after another, the besieged Khan sent a request, on the part of the Begum, his wife, to this effect, that, as her husband was unwell, she begged the artillery men might be directed to desist from firing;

and if it was intended to take possession of the fort, and country, they were welcome, and might take them, for they, the besieged, had no choice but to submit to the Nawaub. Syud Sáhib consequently took possession of the fort and its dependencies, and, placing there an experienced Foujdár, to superintend the affairs of that country, brought the Khan with his Zunana, or family, to the presence, and the Nawaub, after some time, despatched them under a strong escort to Seringaputtun. The Khan's son, however, whose name was Abdussumud Khan, and his title Dileer Jung, was honored with the Daroghahship of the Silladár Kutchiri, at a salary of three hundred rupees a month.

During this time, the Prince, (Tippoo,) young and fortunate, in the space of one month took the forts of Mahi Mundul Gurh, and Kylas Gurh, (which is called Husseinabad), near Rai Vellore; and then, with a large force, and abundance of guns and stores, marched towards Sautgurh, which is one of the greatest among the fortresses of the Karnatic; and, like the seven[r] heavens in strength and height, towers fearfully above all the rest. Wulli Muhammad Khan, the Killadár of this strong place, Syud Mukhdoom, Risaldár, and Muhammad Mowla, who, with two thousand regular infantry,

[r] A pun on the name apparently.

were appointed to defend this fortress, although they had with them good store of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries to sustain a siege, still the unpropitious salt[s] of Muhammad Alí Khan had no hold on their gratitude. The Prince, mounted on an elephant, marched on to the plain before this hill fort, with his drums and trumpets sounding and beating before him, and then halted for two or three hours, and forming the lines of his regular and irregular infantry, and his Julowdárs, or body guard, he manœuvred and marched them about, while his horse in troops formed knots[t] or divisions, and threw the fear of their imposing display into the hearts of the garrison of the fort; they then encamped at the distance of one fursung beyond the river. A man with a genius for poetry, who had heard the tramp of the cavalry, and had seen the discipline and order of the columns of march, and the splendour of the ensigns and standards, starred with gold, repeated without hesitation this quatrain,—" It may be said the heavens are beneath thy horses feet;"—" the pleiades are the marks of his shoe nails;"—" thy victorious standards on the day of battle, are like the Alifs of"[u]—" of a truth we have gained a victory."

[s] Pay or service. [t] کاوره Circles perhaps.

[u] انّا فتحنا From the Koran.

In short, when the officers and men in the fort saw the order of the troops, the readiness of the artillery, and the numbers of the cavalry, fear seized on their souls, and they gave up their manhood gratuitously; and as they could not hope to fight successfully with Hydur's Ghazies, they made a present of the keys of the fort to the servants of the victorious prince, and asked their lives. The prince gave them security, both private and public, and having appointed a governor, with a strong body of musketeers, to the charge of the fort, he marched to attack Amboor Gurh, which is about three measured Kose distant. The hill fort of Amboor, however, had an European officer in command with a garrison of brave soldiers, and he did justice to his command for fifteen days; until the walls were breached, and the army of the prince having agreeably to his orders, raised batteries on a small hill, to the Northward, and adjoining that of the fort, and having with three guns battered the walls down, the governor, reduced to extremity, surrendered the fort to the servants of Tippoo. Zein ul Abideen Daduni Nayut, who was the son-in-law of Assud Khan Muhkuri, the Foujdár of Kishengiri, was appointed by Hydur to the command there, and had charge also to repair the walls of this hill fort. Tippoo now returned to his father, and was honoured with innumerable gifts and rewards.

The Meer[v] above mentioned, in a short time reduced by force all the Poligars[w] before enumerated, and drew them into the net of tribute and obedience; and, bringing with him the presents, the tribute money, and the Poligars, he returned to the presence.

Although the brave Muhammad Alí was appointed to the conquest of Rai Vellore, he was afterwards superceded by the Prince Tippoo, who was employed on the same command; and they together, in attacking the hills and the fort, employed every art, and made every effort. Colonel Lang, however, who commanded there, was a brave man, and a soldier of great experience, and he defended and maintained all three of the Hill forts, that is Sajira, Gojira, and Mortuza Gurh, with the fort at the foot of the hills; nor did he suffer doubt or fear to enter his heart, but defended his charge valiantly.

The brave Commandant, (Muhammad Alí,) assaulted the batteries on the Sajira Hill, two or three times; but, as fate or the time demanded, returned unsuccessful, and received no thanks for his labours. As this siege was difficult, and without a large force, and great energy, could not arrive at a successful result, Tippoo wrote in detail to the presence, on

[v] Meer Alí Ruza Khan. [w] Kalistri, Vinkut Giri, &c.

the subject. On hearing that the Colonel of Rai Vellore, had a stout heart, and that he was not likely to be soon or easily conquered, and seeing that it was far from prudent to allow his troops, the ornaments of the field of battle, to be destroyed in a difficult, impenetrable, country, amidst forests and mountains, the Nawaub recalled the Prince, and the brave Commandant, to the presence; leaving a thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to maintain the siege or blockade, and to prevent all relief, or supplies of provisions, from entering the fort.

Hydur then detached numerous bodies of horse and foot, under the command of experienced Bukhshees, to subdue the southern part of the territory of Arkat. As, for instance, Rustum Alí Khan, Farooki, with a thousand horse, two thousand foot, and one Risala of regular infantry, was sent to take the Hill fort of Jinjee; and Roshun Khan Dustadár, with two thousand foot, one Risala of regular infantry, a thousand horse, and three guns, was appointed to reduce the Hill fort of Purmokul,[x] and marched in that direction. The commander of the latter fort was an English officer, named Captain Joseph; he had a garrison of about two hundred men under his orders, and, having put the mountain or fort into a state of

[x] Permacoil.

defence, he remained in readiness. Roshun Khan encamped to the westward of the fort, and, having surrounded it with cavalry, despatched a message to the Commandant of the fort, requesting him to give it up, and adding that, in reward of his obedience to this summons, the presence, (Hydur), would be entreated to give him the command of a body of troops, similar to those of Monsieur Lalli. The officer in the fort, however, refused to listen to his propositions, and began to defend himself.—The Dustadár, therefore, gave orders that the infantry should cross to the northward [y] of the fort, to an adjoining hill; and, after arriving there they attacked and plundered the village upon it, and remained on the spot. To the southward, also, is a hill, at a short distance, which, in old time, was fortified with a wall and towers, and called Chumar Tekri; but, at that time it was in ruins. At the foot or on the slope of this hill was likewise a tank, the dyke or mound of which being cut through, guns were brought up, and directions given to breach from thence the walls of the fort. Yet, with all this exertion, the garrison was not reduced; but, on the contrary, frequently sallied forth and attacked the

[y] Some words are left out here in all the MSS. apparently; as is common in this work, the order and its result are crowded together in the same sentence.

batteries, and drove the besiegers out of them. The chief officers of the victorious army not being careful, the besiegers also several times attacked the hill, and were put to flight.

At length, however, the Khan before mentioned, put forth the hand of oppression and violence, and seized the women belonging to the garrison of the fort, who had sought refuge in the towns and villages which had fallen under the authority of Hydur's officers; and, making them prisoners, caused them to be dragged to his camp, where they were confined. By these women he despatched messages to their husbands and brothers in the fort, detailing their capture and dishonour by Hydur's soldiers; but, nevertheless, the garrison, attached by the kindness and indulgence of the commanding officer in the fort, considered the cruel and shameful violation of their women as of less moment than the breach of their fidelity and loyalty, and took not the least notice of the messages.

Rustum Khan, who had proceeded with a large body of troops to Jinjee, subdued in one week, without fighting, all the Hill forts there, namely Kishen Gurh, Chuneidgurh, and Raj Gurh, which last is the Chief of all these mountains; and, resembling a single mill-stone, it raises its head on high, and is indeed a place of peculiar strength. He also sub-

dued Bander Bundeh, and Dhoby Bundeh, which are close to each other;—also Kalakote, the fort, at the foot of the mountain, the garrison, an European officer, and a certain Syud Mohi-ud-dín the Walajah (or Arkat) Killadár, being taken prisoners. These persons being placed under a guard, he next marched towards Turnamul, Sulufgurh, &c.

The victorious Prince,[z] with a large force, artillery, and stores, was now despatched from the presence, to reduce Pooloor, Kurnatic Gurh, Tyaggurh, and Rawut Nellore, &c. Proceeding by rapid marches, by the road of Dhoby Gurh, Alí Abad, Bagmar, Peenth and Pooloor, he arrived at the fort of Karnatic Gurh, the height of which reaches the heavens, and which has no equal among the forts of the Karnatic for strength and command. He encamped on the plain before it, taking possession of the foot of the mountain, and posting musketeers and archers in the vicinity of the pass there over the mountains. The next day, although several shot were fired from the guns below to the top of the mountain, yet, from the great height of the fort, lofty as the clouds, no injury was done to the walls. Two or three days having passed in this way, on the fourth, the Prince, who had

[z] The epithets Julleel Ulkudr Walakudr, &c. vary every time which makes it doubtful sometimes who is meant.

a number of prisoners in his camp from Arkat, despatched some of them to apprize the besieged of the taking of Arkat, the destruction of the English army, the impossibility of their receiving reinforcement, or aid, and the orders, that no quarter should be given to the besieged, but all be put to death. When these messengers, therefore, climbed up the mountain, and arrived at the gate of the fort, they detailed each of the events that had taken place, as the retirement of Muhammad Alí Khan to a place of refuge, the destruction of the English troops, and the conquest of Arkat, and then tried to frighten the garrison, by advising them to be very speedy in surrendering the fort to the noble Prince, and not, by waiting for an assault, throw their lives away for nothing; for, that the Prince had actually given orders that the whole of them should be put to the sword.

On hearing these fear-exciting statements, the people of the fort gave up their confidence and courage, and imagining it beyond their strength to make effectual opposition, the Killadár and Commandant of the troops were obliged to request permission to deliver up the fort, on condition of the safety of their lives, properties, and the honour of their women being assured to them. The Prince, who was anxiously looking out for such a prize,

immediately sent them a Kowl Nama, or an assurance of safety, and what they asked was accorded to them, and the whole of the garrison was received under his protection.[a]

The fort was then placed under a man of ability, with a garrison of veterans, and the Prince moved on. In a short time, therefore, the whole of that district was conquered. The Hill fort of Rawut Nellore was taken in two days, and the Prince then turned the head of his fiery steed towards the conquest of Tyag Gurh. The Killadár or Commander there, an English officer, who had with him two hundred musketeers, exerted himself bravely, in opposing and resisting his enemies. The Prince encamped his troops on a tank, west of the hill, and at night, and at the first assault, took the suburbs,—he then constructed batteries and ordered the attack of the fort. The officers and men of the regular and irregular infantry, (artillery), now battered the walls, and threw shells for twenty-eight days successively, and the ramparts being breached, they made themselves ready for the assault, when, by accident, the water in the reservoir of the mountain became dry as the heart of the poor, and not even mud remained. Although the officer in command of the fort, had

[a] وارستند There seems to be some ambiguity in this statement—denoting, I think, that the terms were not kept.

abundance of provisions and warlike stores, yet, being without water, which is the stay of life, and by which it is bound or kept together, he saw that his only resource was to resign the fort to the servants of Hydur. He, therefore, sent propositions to the Prince, requesting him to desist that night from the attack, and that, next morning, he would surrender the fort into the hands of his agents. The Lion-hearted Prince, whose disposition was mild as that of an antelope, looking kindly on his entreaty, gave orders to his artillery men to cease firing, or throwing shells into the fort; his feelings of compassion being excited for the poor garrison. The guards, however, remained as they were in the batteries.

By chance, on the same night the blessed rain fell out of season, and in such abundance that the reservoir above mentioned, and other pools of the mountain, became, like the eyes of a despairing lover, full of water. After the night had passed, and day had displayed the rosy banners of the sun on the towers of the east, the officer commanding in the fort, putting on the cocked hat of conceit,[b] with a desire to show himself valiant, and casting the dust of inexperience on the forehead of his contract, opened a fire from the guns of the fort on

[b] كُلاه كوشه نخوت

the batteries. By this faithless conduct the Prince was inflamed with anger, and gave strict orders to take the fort. The artillery men, therefore, by firing the guns continually, shook the hill and foundations of the fort to that degree, that, in one day, the reservoir became again, like the faces of the false, without water ;[c] and, notwithstanding the officer in the fort was ashamed of his misconduct, and with great submission, and crying entreaty,[d] despatched messengers of peace to the batteries, no attention was paid to his words. The same night, therefore, agreeably to orders, Tippoo's brave soldiers assaulted the fort, and poured the sherbet of blood down the thirsty throats of most of the garrison ; and many guiltless persons were put to death. The officer was taken alive.[e] In short, in the space of two months, the whole of the forts and towns of that quarter, as Durwachul, Selimbur, Vinkuta Peeth, Bhoongiri, &c. being taken, were handed over to the charge of confidential officers ; and, with his Khans, and other men of rank, the Prince returned to his father's camp.

[c] Without truth or sincerity. [d] الحاح

[e] The Author does not say what became of him.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The arrival of General Coote, a very able officer, at Madras from Bengal, and a description of the battle of Muhammad Bunder, and the death of Meer Alí Ruza Khan. Also, the march of the victorious army towards Tanjore and Nuthurnuggur,[f] and the victories then gained; being the year 1195, Hijri, 1780.

An English officer of rank, named General Coote, who was unequalled among his compeers in ability, and experience in war, and who had frequently fought with the French of Phoolcheri, (Pondicherry) in the Karnatic, and by his military knowledge and talents had as often gained the victory over them, had lately returned to England; but at that time the country of Bengal being a new conquest, and requiring regulation and settlement, he was ordered from England,[g] that he might himself carry the necessary arrangements into effect. Hearing, however, of the march of the Nawaub's

[f] Trichinopoly.

[g] انكلستان

army to the conquest of the Karnatic, the taking of Arkat, and most of the other forts, and the defeat of the English troops, through the pride and insolence of young officers,[h] this commander postponed till a future time the regulation of affairs in Bengal, and with six hundred Europeans, and two battalions of Bengal Sipahees, embarked on swift sailing ships, and with all expedition arrived at Madras. On the following day, he visited Muhammad Alí Khan, Surájuddowla, who had left Turmul Ghurri, or Gurhi, and now resided in the Motial Peenth, and asked him "What have you done with your troops?" Muhammad Alí replied, "I have been deceived in putting too much reliance in the aid of your troops; and, in consequence, have fallen in rank and respectability. The reason of this is, that certain English gentlemen strongly asserted and insisted, that one European or man of their country was equal to twenty men of this country, that is, of my servants, as had been often seen, and why should money be thrown away in employing such useless men? Relying on deceiving words like these, I have disbanded my troops, and their monthly pay I hand over to you, and consequently I expect you to provide for my defence." The General smiled at hearing this story, and said, "Some wag

[h] Referring to Baillie's defeat.

has told you this out of fun or in a joke; but it is necessary that princes should maintain forces and state,[i] to the extent of their means, otherwise they may soon expect to become beggars."

In fine, Surájuddowla, repenting of what he had done, hid the face of shame in the hood of patience, and assembling two or three thousand musketeers, three hundred troop, or regular horse, and two hundred dismounted cavalry, the worthy or appropriate[k] force of his state, and taking the horses of his own stables, and the riding horses of his sons and relations, he handed them over to the General for service. The whole of the carriage oxen of the merchants, and citizens, were also borrowed to draw the guns, and two lakhs (200,000) of Hoons or pagodas[l] in specie, which he had in the treasury, were presented to pay for the carriage of the baggage of the army.

Determining to chastise the brave soldiers of the Nawaub, the General now, by prudent management, gradually restored the confidence of the before frightened, dismayed army, and encamped with them in the plain of Frengi Koh,[m] (the French rocks,) where he expended hundreds of thousands of

[i] جاه و حشم [k] مستحق

[l] A Pagoda is worth about seven shillings.

[m] St. Thomas' Mount.

pounds[n] from the (E. I.) Company's treasury, and for three months occupied himself in disciplining his troops, enlisting recruits, and collecting provisions, (ships continually arriving from Bengal laden with corn), and procuring military stores, ammunition, and artillery. To convey his ammunition, tents, &c. he sent for bullocks from the Wankul and Neeloor districts, which had not yet been ravaged by the fury of the Kuzzaks, or trodden under the hoofs of the plundering cavalry. After he had thus completed all his arrangements, he marched forward by the route of Choongul Peeth (Chingleput), but with great care and caution. The Nawaub, on hearing this news despatched his horse in front, under the command of Sidi Hillal, and Gholaum Alí Khan, Bukhshi, to surround and harrass the army of the General, and himself followed from Arkat.

In this time, the General attacked the fort of Girgit Paleh, which was garrisoned by the Nawaub's troops; and, surrounding it before day break, by the means of ropes and ladders, his men mounted the walls, and, with musketry and the bayonet, killed all those who manned the bastions. After the commandant had gallantly defended the fort for an hour, and had drank of the cup of martyr-

[n] زر

dom, the General, being the conqueror, divided the stores found in the fort among his own troops, and marched on, and that day encamped in the neighbourhood of Achurwakum. Roshun Khan, Dustadár, who was employed in the siege of Purmokul Gurh,° and Rustum Alí Khan Farooki, who also had afterwards been appointed to take that hill fort, having, notwithstanding their great exertions, failed to reduce the garrison, now left their batteries as they were, behind them, and joined the Nawaub's army. The next day the English General marched, and, under cover of the hills and forests, arrived at Purmokul, where he conferred high honours on the brave officer who commanded there; and, taking him with the army, he left another officer in charge of that mountain fort. The next day the General proceeded on the road to Phoolcheri; (Pondicheri); but, although the victorious troops (Hydur's,) surrounded and attacked on all sides the English army on its march, and considered whatever baggage remained in the rear as their own property, no field was found qualified for an open fight. Having reached Phoolcheri, the General obtained grain and provisions from the mercenary French merchants of that place, on paying for the same; and thence marched to Kootoor, where he arrived safe,

° Permacoil of the English.

and encamped before the castle or fort, and sent for his supplies of grain and warlike stores by sea from Madras, Mutchliputtun, (Musulipatam) &c.

For the distance of two fursungs round the fort, the Nawaub had raised batteries, and mounted cannon on them, and was prepared for action. As, however, the General, had taken up his position, he kept his own ground of encampment; and, pretending the sleep of the hare, appeared occupied with the internal regulation of his troops and as having no intention either to fight, or to make peace. Leaving, therefore, Meer Alí Ruza Khan with his force, Sidi Hilal with five thousand horse, and Ghazi Khan, with other officers, to make head against the General, he himself, with the whole of his troops and artillery, &c., marched towards Mahmood Bundur,[p] and the forts in that direction, and despatched the Prince Tippoo (Walakudr) with seven thousand horse, four thousand regular and irregular foot, and five guns, towards Tujawur and Nuthurnuggur.[q] With this force, the Prince Tippoo boldly advanced into the country of Tujawur. His soldiers, brave as Roostum, in obedience to his orders, plundered and destroyed the environs of that town, which in population and fertility, may be called equal to Kashmere: the whole of the waters of the rivers

[p] Porto Novo. [q] Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Kavari and Kaverum being employed for irrigation[r] in the same districts, and therefore not suffered to reach the sea. The habitations and idol temples of that country, which threw shame on the best paintings of China, and resembled the beauties of Paradise, they levelled with the ground, and, setting fire to most of the houses, shops, and bazaars, they laid waste the whole of the country. *Verses.* " They set the country in a blaze ;"—" they took the lock or latch, and set fire to the door."—" By the hoofs of the Islám horse,"—" plains and mountains were rendered undistinguishable. " Sacks upon sacks of corn, herd upon herd of cattle, flocks of sheep and goats, with other articles considered worthy the notice of Hydur were sent to him. The forts of Turkat Pilly and Shagota, attached or belonging to that Souba, were repaired and strengthened, and having appointed a body of troops to that quarter, the Prince now spurred the steed of his plans and projects towards Nuthurnuggur. Having appointed Amils, independent Killadárs, and large garrisons,to the forts of Alianoor and Dyar Paleh, he marched from that place by night, and plundered Seerung, and Jhumgiri, ancient temples, seated between the waters of the Kaveri and Kaverum held in great veneration by the Hindoos, and

[r] جلتوک Melons, cucumbers, &c.

the gaze[s] and delight of the world. *Verses.*—"The temples of sculptured stone, the images fair and lovely," "the girls, loving and wanton, beauties deceiving the heart."[t] The Kuzzaks here were allowed to keep all plunder; and the brave fellows therefore fearlessly plunged their horses into the river, as if they had been dying for a drop of cold water, and, crossing over the stream, put forth their hands to pillage, and a great quantity of gold, jewels and articles of value fell into their possession; as much, indeed, as they desired. The young men, fond of beauty and enjoyment, obtained lovely virgins and slave girls, of the Brahmun caste, and Bayaderes, beautiful as the moon, arrayed with ornaments of gold and jewels, to their hearts desire, and warmed themselves thoroughly in the arms of beauty. Of the whole of the plunder taken, one fourth was returned to the Sirkar. The next day, the Prince, worthy a crown,[u] crossed both the rivers, and marched towards Kalicote, which lies six fursungs to the eastward of the fort of Trichinopoly; the Nawaub himself with his whole army, and artillery, also marched in the same direction. On the road thither, therefore, the Prince met his father, and,

[s] نظارہ

[t] This alludes to the women of the Pagodas seemingly.

[u] A pun on the name of the province, تاجور

having kissed the border of his carpet, presented him with a list of the plundered property, and, having deposited the articles in the treasury, received great commendation.

With the intention to reduce as many of the Purgunas, and towns, of that country under his own authority as he possibly could, the Nawaub marched to Trichinopoly, and despatched his horse in front. Surrounding the fort early in the morning, the Kuzzaks, or predatory horse, advanced to the ditch, and made prisoners of many of the women and children of the poor people, and, after killing some few men, they returned. At this time, an officer, named Mr. Hall,[v] who was exercising recruits opposite the gate followed the Nawaub's horse with six hundred fine young men, and two light guns (gallopers), and, firing as they moved on, drove the horse before him and his party. This body of men was accompanied by thousands of spectators from the town. The horse, retiring step by step, and waiting for a favourable opportunity to charge, took the road to Churgul Paleh, which lies to the eastward of the fort, at the distance of about one measured fursung, (near four miles); the Nawaub himself, however, before this time, had arrived and halted there, with the whole of his matchlock men and the artillery. When the officer

[v] مستر هال

before-mentioned, therefore, saw the horse running away from him, he still followed; and, advancing, approached and halted within the distance of a cannon shot. At this time, the Kuzzaks came quickly to the right about,[w] and with swords drawn, and their lances quivering, gallopped on to charge the body of infantry; and the officer, still deceived, keeping his guns in front, and firing as he advanced, moved on to meet them. No sooner, however, had they arrived at the plain of the Paleh above-mentioned, and halted there, on a rising ground, when, according to the Nawaub's orders, on one side the Ihshám, (irregular infantry), blood-drinkers, and the Risalas (regiments) of musketeers, assailed them, and, with arrows and musketry, swept away these rash men from the field of existence. On the other side, the cavalry galloping[x] forward, charged them; and, although the officer kept his men in the best position and order, yet, from the shouting and noise of the foolish spectators, who had crept into his ranks, he had no room to fire a volley, so that, in despair, he struck the hand of his rashness on the ground of desperation, and the recruits, smitten with terror, threw away their arms, and plunged into a marsh covered by crops of rice,[y] where they

[w] عقب برگشته

[x] جهانده

[y] Shaul is also a tree, the wood of which is used in ship-building, teak.

stuck fast. In a short time, therefore, the horse with swords and arrows, the foot with javelins and maces, and the musketeers with their bayonets, slew them every one; and the plain was more stained with the blood of their enemies than is the many coloured face of the heavens. It happened that the officer who commanded the detachment put his horse to its speed, that he might not fall into the hands of Hydur's (Gházies) brave soldiers; but one of the Nawaub's horsemen, whose name was Alí Nowaz, taking the lead of the rest, made a cut at his head with his sword. By chance, the sweep of the sword only reached his hair, which was cut off, but his head remained uninjured, and he escaped into the fort of Trichinopoly.

A few of the men, spared by the sword, were made prisoners; and those, with the arms and artillery taken, were presented to the Nawaub, who, ordering the heads of the slain to be cut off, and packed in twenty large baskets, sent them into the fort to frighten the garrison, with a message, directing them to give up the fort to his officers immediately, otherwise he would soon cut off their heads in the same manner. Considering this town of Paleh as a place of victory, or good fortune, he pitched his tents and displayed his victorious standards there. The Prince, with the troops belong-

ing to Monsieur Lalli, was appointed to the western side of the fort (of Trichinopoly); and, after the labour of two or three days, the materials for the batteries and the assault, such as ladders, fascines, and bundles of straw, to fill up the ditch, were collected.

Colonel Lickson, (Nixon), Shadi Khan, the Collector of the Revenue there, and Mr. Hall, however, were almost without resource, for want of troops, as they had not more than two or three hundred men with them; but to supply this deficiency, they gathered together all the people of the city, Hindoo and Mussulman, took them into daily and monthly pay, and appointed the blacksmiths and goldsmiths to the duties of the artillery, and placed them in great numbers, for show, in the towers and bastions. The Poligar of Turwur Paleh, also, with two hundred foot, having strengthened the gates of the fort, remained in readiness to defend them.

When the Nawaub had obtained the materials for the siege, and assault, by the road of Churgul Paleh, and had piled them up in heaps near the gate; and the Prince, also, from the Waroor Paleh side, had collected and piled up materials to a great amount, near the Durgah or tomb, of Nuthur Wulli,[z] Surmusti Kinaani, and, had resolved at night to attempt the capture of the fort; letters to the pre-

[z] The name of a Peer or Saint.

sence unexpectedly arrived, from Meer Alí Ruza Khan, and other officers, stating, that General Coote, with a well appointed force, had left Kodaloor, (Cuddalore), and was marching to Mahmood Bundur, (Porto Novo), and that, if the Nawaub would march that way with his valiant army, he might soon and easily do away with his enemies. The Nawaub, on hearing this, decamped without a moment's delay, and made a forced march with the whole of his army and artillery; and the Prince, after setting fire to the materials for forming the batteries, followed as quickly as he was able.

When the General, (Coote), left his encampment and his advanced guard, which, in the technical language of the English, is called picquet,[a] had arrived in the neighbourhood of Bagoor, Sidi Hillal, the Bukhshi, charged that body with his cavalry, and, they actively employing their bows, spears, and swords, a severe action followed; and, on both sides, many of the bravest men were slain. Fate decided, also, that the Bukhshi, Sidi Hillal, should be sent to Paradise, by a shot from a musket and a bayonet wound. On the same day, Lal Khan the Kayim Khani, deviated from the road of honour, and followed the path of treachery and ingratitude; that is to say, he deserted with his Risala of horse,

[a] بکت

and joined the General's army. General Coote marched straight from this place to Mahmood Bundur, and that day encamped there. At night, he made an attack on Selimbur, (commonly called Chillambrum.) The Killadár, or officer commanding in that fort, whose name was Yousuf Khan, was, however, a brave soldier, and, with three hundred men, defended the fort gallantly ; and, by a continual shower of musket balls, rockets and shells, he so effectually beat off the assailants, that between two and three hundred of the English army lost their lives, without any advantage gained. The General, therefore, submitting to the exigencies of the time, returned to Mahmood Bundur, without effecting his purpose ; and scarcely had he returned when, behold! the Nawaub arrived, treading on his heels, and took possession of the head of the route, shutting up on all sides the paths of safety.[b] To that end, also, he posted his guns on the sand hills, which lie scattered on the sea shore, like little mountains, and gave orders to open their fire. The General, meanwhile, in order to ascertain the Nawaub's plans, ranged his troops and guns in lines on the beach, placing the whole of his followers and baggage near the waves of the sea ; and, keeping the eye of hope on what the agents of fate might bring

[b] He caught a Tartar.

forth from the womb of time, waited for opportunities to commence the action. The Nawaub, also, under cover of the sand hills, sat in his golden chair, like the world-conquering sun, alone, (without an equal,) and closely watched the movements, of both armies. Meer Alí Ruza Khan was appointed to act on the rear of the English army, and the Prince and Monsieur Lalli, with a very large body of troops, were stationed to block up their retreat or passage. The Risalas or regiments of the gallant Commandant, Syud Humeed, Shaikh Oonsur, Shaikh Omr, &c. formed the advanced guard, and now received strict orders to attack and destroy their enemies. The matchlock and artillery men, without pity,[c] by their fire, burned the heads and breasts of those who were advancing, or taking up their ground. The rocketeers, according to the orders they had received, each man taking post behind the Kewra (Spikenard) trees, of which many grew in the neighbourhood, fired their rockets among the followers and baggage of the English; and the poor people, frightened, were thrown into the utmost confusion. The flames of war thus blazed high, until mid-day, and on every side lay heaps of dead.

The General had borne, with much patience,

[c] This will bear a different interpretation, but I believe this is what is meant.

the loss of a great many of his soldiers and followers, when two[d] ships arrived from Kodaloor, and anchored opposite his army. He now therefore arose, forthwith, and, with his troops formed in excellent order, marched straight to the spot where the Nawaub himself had taken his station; and, notwithstanding the horse and foot, and the Risalas of regular infantry, strove to impede, and arrest his advance, they could not withstand the vigour of his charge, but fled before him, and, by the constant discharge of English shot, most of their bravest men were killed and wounded. On becoming acquainted with the intrepidity of his enemies, and the useless destruction of God's creatures being contrary to his principles, the Nawaub gave orders that the guns should be withdrawn to the rear, and that the troops should occupy the plain, in as wide or open an order as possible, and they anxious to preserve their fame, did as they were ordered. At this moment Meer Alí Ruza Khan was galloping, at the head of his cavalry, along the beach, intending by an attack on the troops and followers of the English army to throw them into confusion, when, of a sudden, a shot from a cannon on board of one of the ships struck him and broke the arm of his valour, and threw him off his

[d] Perhaps a two decked ship.

horse. His astonished attendants, with cries of grief and consternation, assembled round their master, and, placing him in a Palkee, carried him to the presence. The Nawaub, on seeing his condition, was struck with grief and compassion; but, in respect to the exigencies of the time, he bore his loss with patience and constancy, and did not even bend his eyebrow at the sight, but lifting up the curtain of the Palkee, with his own hand, he saw that the eagle of his (Alí Ruza's) soul, at one flight,[e] had winged its way to the gardens of Paradise. They, therefore, immediately put him into a coffin,[f] and sent it off to Gurum Koonda. The whole of the troops of Meer Alí Ruza, his treasure and valuables, horses and elephants, according to the inventories, were handed over by the Nawaub to the Prince Tippoo, (Walukudr), who was his own sister's son. Kumr-ud-dín Khan, the son of Meer Alí Ruza Khan, who had arrived at years of discretion, and, although the son of a lady[g] of his Hurum, was a very worthy young man, and endowed with the best qualities of an officer, was sent for to the presence; and Hydur, passing his hand over his head, presented him with a dress of mourning, and renewed to him the

[e] جنبش Some copies have, "with one smile winged its way," &c.

[f] صندوق

[g] حرم عاصمه

honours and distinctions of his father, as kettle-drums, elephants, the umari, &c. and that he might be well educated, or brought up, put his hand into the hand of the Prince.

On that day, therefore, on which occurred a great defeat and dispersion of the victorious troops, Hydur, seeing no advantage in continuing the action, turned his line of march towards Vinkuta Peenth, and the bodies of the slain of his army were consigned to the earth, and the wounded, placed in Doolies and on cots,[h] were sent to Arkat. Syud Sáhib was despatched from the same ground of encampment, with his own Dusta and a party of foot soldiers, to conquer the country of Tanjore, (or as it is written, Tujawur), and Nuthurnuggur.

The General, having conquered in this battle, again returned to Phoolcheri, (Pondicheri), and from that place, by the route of Purmokul Gurh, and Chungul Peenth,[i] entered his station at the French Mountains;[j] but at no place did he halt more than one or two days. The sanguinary Kuzzaks, however, in the mean time, attacked and harassed the English army on all sides, and by their exploits effaced the memory of those of Roostum and Isfendiar. The Nawaub now also left his encampment, and, marching by the route of Turwadi

[h] Litters and small bedsteads. [i] Chingleput. [j] The Mount.

and Beelpoor, encamped at Tondivellum. It happened that some of the Nawaub's stable horse, going near Purmokul Gurh, for grass and wood, entered a garden about one fursung from the fort, and began collecting forage there. The officer, who commanded in the fort, espying them from the top of the mountain, despatched a Jamadár, with a party of infantry, to attack them, and the Jamadár advancing to the garden, under cover of the tank, belonging to the town, arrived there and commenced a fire to disperse them. Being surprised and unprepared, at the sound of the discharge, the horse fell into confusion; some left their horses and escaped, and some, without obtaining any thing, lost their lives. The aforesaid Jamadár, therefore, seized the horses of the Nawaub's men, and returned to the mountain.

The Chief[k] or staff-officers of the army apprised the Nawaub of this occurrence, stating that in that neighbourhood was a Hill fort, which had not yet been reduced by his troops, and that the officer commanding there attacked unnecessarily both the peasantry and the soldiers of the army, and that, on that day, he had seized several horses of the Paigah, after killing their riders. On hearing this, the fire of Hydur's rage burned furiously, and he imme-

[k] نقیبان

diately ordered his army to assault and take the fort. He himself, left his encampment, and took his station on the ground formerly occupied by Roshun Khan. His brave officers now crowded round from all parts, and enclosed the Hill fort, like a dot in the centre of a circle; the Prince and Monsieur Lalli, ran trenches or the sap[1] from the rear of the mountain, and the artillery were placed in battery to breach the fort. The foot soldiers, in the mean time, notwithstanding the shot showered fast upon them, and a number of lives were sacrificed, ascended the hill, under cover of the rocks, and established themselves at the foot of the walls. Although the fort was garrisoned by three hundred men, with abundant stores and provisions, yet the Commandant, smitten with the beauty of one of the courtezans of the town, was in all matters desirous to avoid giving her pain or uneasiness; but, when he saw her readiness and importunity to make peace, or give up the fort, he the first day renounced her love, and determined to plant his foot in the field of manhood, and defend his charge. After that, however, her obstinacy exceeding all bounds, the woman wantonly placing the hand of pertinacity on the garment of his love, and shed-

[1] سيب The late Earl of Munster, whose acquaintance with Oriental military terms was very extensive, thought it probable, that our word sap was originally derived from this. It signifies a ditch or trench in Arabic.

ding tears, said, "If you are determined to fight, first kill me." Some other persons, also, being in league with her in this plan, and the disposition of the officer being mild, he consented to surrender. The Soubadár[m] of the garrison, however, whose name was Abdul Kadur, took the command of the fort on his own responsibility, and defended it six days; but, being killed by a musket shot on the seventh day, the walls of the fort being much shattered and beat down, courage deserted the garrison, and the commanding officer submitted to the Nawaub, and surrendered the place to his agents. The Nawaub immediately placed it in charge of his most faithful servants, and, giving them orders to repair the works, marched towards Wandiwash.

It is proper to mention here, that the General, hearing of the siege of Purmokul Gurh, despatched two Risalas or battalions of infantry, with a convoy of provisions and ammunition, to reinforce the garrison. This body of troops had arrived in the vicinity of Achur Wakum, when they became aware of the conquest of Purmokul, and, stealing a march by night, they entered the fort of Wandiwash,[n] and, strengthening the fort, remained there. But,

[m] A Native Captain of a Native regiment.

[n] وندواسي

although the circuit of the fort was previously blockaded, or in a state of siege, and the Nawaub himself, for three or four days, had formed his plans to reduce it, and several fearful assaults had been already made, still, as certain state affairs of the utmost importance pressed on his mind, the Nawaub, after he had well tried and ascertained that the Commandant of the fort had a stout heart, and, was a man of great skill and experience, appointed Monsieur Lalli, Syud Humeed, and Shaikh Oonsur, to take the fort, and he himself proceeded to Arkat. The Frenchmen and other officers having raised their batteries on all sides, and mounted guns in them, began to batter the walls of the fort, so that, in a short time, they were beaten down, and many furious assaults were made; but, in spite of all their exertions, the officer commanding in the fort did not allow his heart to fail him, and fought valiantly, being uniformly successful in beating off his assailants.

In this state of affairs, Monsieur Lalli seeing that the siege had been protracted to a considerable length, and that no success had followed their attacks, and also that the officer defending the fort was a man of consummate experience, consulted with the other officers, and determined on the following plan:—viz. that a body of their troops should be

arrayed as English soldiers, and separated from their army, and at night sent to the distance of one stage, by the route of Girgut Paleh and Choongul Peenth;[°] and that a French officer, who understood the English language, and could read and write English perfectly well, should be appointed with these troops. This plan was carried into effect, and Lalli himself enjoined the officer to do his best in deceiving the Commandant of the fort, and then sent him and his detachment off in the manner above described. In pursuance of this scheme, the French officer wrote a letter to the Killadár or Commandant of the fort, purporting that he was appointed, with a large force from Madras, to convey supplies to the garrison, and to aid them against Hydur; that he would be there soon, and that the Killadár should be on the alert, for that on the morrow, at about eight o'clock in the morning, he would enter the fort, and attack the enemy. When the letter, which was taken by a pair of Hurkaras, (letter carriers,) was received by the commanding officer, although the receipt of the letter gave him pleasure, and the reading of its contents made him smile, still, the name or signature appended to it surprised and threw him into doubt and suspicion; for he knew

[°] Peenth, a suburb, is the word which the English write Pettah.

that the officer named had been deputed to Sikakole (Chicacole) and Gunjam, to collect grain and gun-bullocks. This was well known to the Commander of the fort, and, therefore, after much consideration, he surmised—for "good sense is half a miracle"[p]—that this most likely was a ruse or deception of Monsieur Lalli's. Nevertheless, he was still undecided what to think, when, the next day a sharp fire of musketry and the roar of artillery were heard from the road indicated by the despatch of the day before. The Killadár or officer, hearing this, took up his telescope, and looking out sharply, saw two bodies of troops close together, firing at each other; but, with all their firing, no signs of wounded men, could be descried by the telescope; on the contrary, it appeared merely the sound of powder without ball. This cleared away the officer's doubts, and the beautiful image of truth[q] unveiled her radiant face to him, and he became certain that treachery was intended. He, therefore, collected the garrison on the same side of the fort, loaded all his guns with grape-shot, and kept them in readiness. By this time the false reinforcement had arrived near at hand, and the officer in command of them sent a message, by a Hurkaru, that, thank God, he had arrived

[p] العقل نصف الكرامات

[q] شاهديقين

safe, and that he requested the gate of the fort might be thrown open, that he and his men might enter, and that they might converse with each other, and dine together.—The Killadár, in reply, intimated that it would be advisable for him to halt his men for an hour or two on the Glacis, that is, outside the ditch, until the gate could be opened ; for, that a strong wall had been built behind it, which it would take some time to break down, and therefore, in the meanwhile, they had better rest themselves. When the false reinforcement reached and halted on the brink of the ditch, the Commandant of the fort mounted a bastion, and having carefully examined the movements of the new comers, the cut of their beards and moustaches, &c., immediately gave orders to his artillery men and musketeers to open their fire. This cannonade soon beat the vapour of folly and the affectation of valour out of their empty heads!—A terrible blow thus fell on the officer and his men, who, not finding time to take up their arms and baggage, escaped to camp with their lives only. In fine, the officer in the fort, with great penetration, saw and avoided the snare laid for him, and thus gained a victory. When the Nawaub heard of the bad management of the siege, and of the defeat of his troops, he was exceedingly

angry, and immediately ordered the Frenchman to the presence; the other officers also were recalled with their troops, but the fort still continued to be surrounded or blockaded by the cavalry.

CHAPTER XXX.

An account of the arrival of Troops from Bengal at the Port of Madras, and a description of the Battle in the vicinity of Sool Nuggur. Also, the relief of the Fort of Rai Vellore, by General Coote, with great difficulty; the Battle of Arnee; and the attack and overthrow of a body of English troops, by the Prince Tippoo, in the neighbourhood of Puna Nelloor, a dependency of the Souba of Tujavur (Tanjore;) with other events of the year 1196, Hijri.—A. D. 1781-2.

When General Coote, after the battle of Mahmood Bundur, (Porto Novo,) returned to Madras, a Colonel, that is, an officer of high rank, arrived from Bengal, with five battalions of regular infantry, and two regiments of Europeans, with military stores, bullocks to draw the artillery, treasure, and sixty or seventy vessels, laden with grain. The General, at the arrival of these reinforcements, showed himself well pleased, and in congratulation saluted them with his guns. In about two months, therefore, his army was restored to condition, and taking one of the sons of Muhammad Alí Khan, Suráj-ud-dowla,

named Syfe ul Moolk, with him, he moved towards Turvaloor-i-Tahir Khaní, like a tiger looking out for his prey, with the intention of re-victualling the garrison of the fort of Rai Vellore. The Nawaub's scouts informed him of the march of the General, while he was encamped at Dysoor and Walpundul, and he, therefore, marched with his troops and artillery, by the route of Gundapoor, otherwise called Kauveri Pauk, to that quarter. The General, however, before he met the Nawaub's army, made night marches, from Trivalore to the vicinity of Sool Nuggur, a town on the road of the hilly country of Naglapoor; and about the same distance as Arkat to the northward, and there he encamped. No sooner had he done this, than he found his camp surrounded by the Nawaub's horse, and a sharp skirmish ensued.

The next day, when the lion of the heavens at one leap or bound had scattered[1] the starry host, like a flock of sheep; and had risen from the plains of the east, with his jaws and claws stained with blood, the General left his ground, and advanced to an extensive plain. He had scarcely reached it, before the Nawaub's cavalry with horses as swift as the wind, attacked him on all sides, and, giving up all consideration either of their

[1] Devoured.

lives, or those of others, surrounded the General's troops in close combat—and to what extent did they not exert their valour! The Nawaub himself, with his artillery, took up a position on a high ground on the General's route, and lighted up the fire of war in his front. On the right flank, the Prince determined to imitate in his attack the Battle[s] of the last day, and a total dispersion of the troops, followers, and baggage, of the rear guard,[t] ensued; and, at one charge, thousands of men and women passed under the edge of the sword, perished by the arrow, and musket ball; or were put to flight. The officers of the musketeers, and Ahshám, or irregular foot, with the breath of the musket, and rocket, lit up the fire of battle and slaughter, and many were uselessly burned, and many drowned in a river of their own blood. In fact, a great multitude of officers and men, on both sides, slept on the field of death. The army of the General in this action received a severe blow; a cannon ball from one of the Nawaub's guns having broken the leg of Colonel Stuart, and thereby caused the commander a deep affliction; but, more than this, another shot also struck the horse of Syfe ul Moolk, by which he Syfe ul Moolk was thrown on the ground, and his

[s] The fight with the Dujjál or Antichrist.

[t] چنداول

brave[u] heart split in twain. In short, it went very near that the stone of defeat and dispersion would fall among the troops of the General, when gloomy night suddenly arrived, and cast a veil of darkness over the world, and closed the contest of the two fierce lions.

The General brought that night to an end with a hundred anxieties and sorrows, and, in the morning marched[v] in good order from that ground, and without halting or delay in any place, returned to the neighbourhood of Trivalore. Syfe ul Moolk, an effeminate young man, and inexperienced in war, and who was struck with terror by the concussion of the cannon ball, was seized with fever and ague, and was sent home safe to his father. The Poligars of Kalistri and Vinkut Giri, who had submitted, and were tributary to the Nawaub, and were in attendance on him, now, seeing the expedition likely to be attended with an unfavorable issue, and that the war between the two parties was not likely to come to an early conclusion, quitted the Nawaub, with their troops, and joined the General, taking no account of the Nizám, the lord of their possessions.[w]

[u] Ironically.

[v] The author of this work passes over the relief of Vellore, in silence.—The march of the General here mentioned was to Vellore I believe.

[w] Sumustan.

The Nawaub, after the General had arrived at Trivalore, left his ground, and encamped near Kinchi, where there was plenty of water and forage. At this time, also, the Nawaub's spies gave him an account of the arrival of the French fleet, bringing with them Monsieur Bussy, the commander of the French troops. Accounts likewise came of the English army, which had been collected from Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and had marched to Naug Puttun.[x]

It must not be concealed here, that, some time before, when the Nawaub with his army was on their march towards Tanjore, the Hollanders of Naug Puttun immediately deputed a person to wait on him, and he, having arranged and confirmed the relations of peace and friendship between them, they professed obedience, and became tributary to the Nawaub. The Nawaub, therefore, after the preliminary details of the treaty, entertained the agent with kindness; and, at a fair price, purchased from him warlike stores, that is to say, guns and muskets, with boxes on boxes of their equipments and other necessary articles, such as glass ware, &c. He also, attached a body of two thousand irregular foot to the Hollander, for his aid and protection.

When the General proceeded to Madras, and the Nawaub leaving his brave troops in the forts of

[x] Negapatam.

Turkat Pilly, Shahgota, and the Ghaut of Muniar Koodi, followed the army of the General, and marched to this quarter,[y] the chief English officer at Trichinopoly and Tanjore, according to the orders given by the Governor of Madras, after proof of the insincerity of the Hollanders in furnishing warlike stores to the Nawaub, collected five or six thousand troops, and some large guns, and marched and besieged the said fort of Naug Puttun, and exerted himself to the utmost to effect its capture. But, though he professed a wish to prevent fighting, and advised the surrender of the fort, his advice was without avail, and the result was, that, giving up all care for his life, the commandant of the fort, with his own troops, and the foot soldiers sent by the Nawaub, defended himself with the greatest manliness and bravery. At that time General Monro, who, since the period of his turning aside the reins of perseverance from the neighbourhood of Ginjee,[z] after the defeat of the troops under Colonel Baillie, had not been employed by the East India Company in their service, but had remained at his own house, now, according to the advice and recommendation of the General, (Coote,) was put on board-ship with two hundred Europeans and proceeded to that quarter, (Negapatam); and, in

[y] Madras or Arkat. [z] Sometimes written Kinchi.

the course of about ten days, after the destruction of thousands of men, on both sides, he took the fort, and with his prisoners again returned to Madras by sea,—Syud Sáhib, although he laboured with great ardour to assist and relieve the Hollanders, was unsuccessful.

Soon after this event, Colonel Burgford (intended for Brathwaite,) with four thousand regular infantry, seven guns, and some regular cavalry, left Naug Puttun, having made his own arrangements for the security of the fort; and, seeing the plain clear of Hydur's prowling lions, he marched to Karical and Tulingawari. But the Prince, the destroyer of his enemies, having been commissioned with his invincible troops to the conquest of that country, like an arrow parting swiftly from the bow to the butt, arrived there; and encamped in the neighbourhood of those towns. There being at this time a report prevalent, that a fleet of French ships had arrived, the Colonel beforementioned came to Tanjore; and with a design to cover Kuddalore, in case the French should land there, marched on to the vicinity of Puna Nelore, (which lies to the eastward of the district of Gomkurn, and is situated on the bank of the river Kauverum,)[a] and encamped in a cocoa nut grove there. He had, however, no sooner arrived

[a] This river in one copy is called Goldum.

there, than spies carried the intelligence to the Prince, and that lion of the field of battle immediately marched, following his footsteps; and overtaking him, at night, posted his artillery round the cocoa nut grove, and remained on the alert. In the morning, when the Colonel's drums beat the générale for the march, the Prince ordered his artillery to open their fire; and the men, in obeying, fired with such precision, that, before the Colonel's troops had time to fall in, half their number were killed, or wounded, by the fall of the cocoa nut trees, cut down and broken by the shot. To be concise,—after the Colonel's troops were formed, they, with their guns, came out to the plain, and, for an hour, or two, displayed much bravery; but, as there were a hundred difficulties and dangers opposed on all sides to their passage, the Colonel repented of his movement; and was plunged into the sea of anxiety and indecision, and, taking possession of an old temple, or pagoda, which was on the plain, he made that his quarters and halted there. A gentleman of the name of Sampson,[b] however, a cavalry officer charged the Nawaub's Kushoon, (a brigade of Infantry,) in flank, and cut his way through them, and took the road to Tanjore. The brave horse of

[b] Simpson, perhaps

the Paigah,[c] however, followed him, and took and brought back several of his men, with their horses, and arms; Syud Ghuffar, Soubadár, was taken on that very day.—But to return, the Prince by the constant fire of his artillery knocked down the walls of the old temple, and devoted the whole of those who sought refuge in it to the sword;[d] not leaving one alive. Then, taking possession of their baggage and stores, he marched by Lal Peenth to Kuddalore, and had scarcely encamped in front of the fort, when a number of French ships arrived, and anchored in the roads.

The chief officer of the French now despatched a summons to the English Commandant of the fort, to surrender; and the Commandant, not being of opinion he could resist, returned to the French general a detailed statement of the stores, &c. in the fort, and, taking his receipt, evacuated the fort, and proceeded by sea in boats to Sudrung Puttun, (called by the English Sadras), a fort garrisoned by the Dutch, where they disembarked. At that time, also, two hundred men, with two guns and stores, had arrived from Choongul Peenth at that fort to besiege it; and both these detachments, therefore, formed a junction. After some negociation, the

[c] Apparently household troops.

[d] Made a charitable donation of them to the sword.

Commandant, who had no intention to fight, joined them, and they destroyed the fort, and returned to Choongul Peenth.

The French Commander-in-Chief, with his army, consisting of four or five thousand troops, all Europeans, now disembarked at Kuddalore, and the Prince, after the lapse of two days, visited him, and having renewed and strengthened the foundations of worldly friendship, said, " It is now necessary that you with your gallant army,[d] without fear or delay, should turn to our aid, and help us to destroy and root out our enemies, and, when that is done, each of us will then return to his own country."—The French general, however, pleaded the discomfort and length of the sea voyage, and the want of preparation in his military equipments, as reasons for a short delay.—The Nawaub, also, hearing of the arrival of the French at Kuddalore, according to agreement, their meeting with the Prince, and his endeavour to excite them to do away with the seditious and rebellious people, (the English,) marched towards Beelpoor, when the Prince met him there, and detailed to him the delay required by the French, and other matters. The Nawaub, therefore, sent them some bullocks, to

[e] عدو گداز خونخوار melting their enemies, and drinking their blood.

draw their guns, and some other articles of necessity, and then returned towards Arkat. In the course of the march, however, the scouts and spies from the outposts which surrounded the English army, came in, and reported that General Coote, with a very large force, exceedingly well equipped, was again marching towards Rai Vellore, under cover of the forest of Naglapoor, and the confines of the territory of Bomraj the Poligar. The Nawaub, therefore, instantly put the whole of his army in motion, for that quarter. Syud Humeed, Shaikh Oonsur, and Monsieur Lalli, with their divisions of troops, were sent to defend Arkat; while Kureem Sáhib, with four thousand horse, and two thousand foot, was despatched towards Madras, that he might shut up the road against all reinforcements and convoys proceeding to join the English army. The Nawaub himself then marched on, and, leaving the Prince in the plain near Arnee, encamped near Dhoby Gurh. During this time, the General, traversing by forced marches, high and difficult mountains and arid plains, arrived from the environs of Kulkeri at Rai Vellore, and halted there.

It is not to be omitted here, that, after the battle of Sool Nuggur, the brave Commandant, (Muhammad Alí), notwithstanding that worthy servant had committed no fault deserving punishment, was

nevertheless, accused of having wilfully neglected his duty in opportunities of defeating the English. He was displaced, therefore, from his Risala, and remained in the suite of the Nawaub, with only one horse for his own riding. About this time a number of Bunjaras,[f] belonging to the victorious army, having with them about four or five thousand bullocks, laden with grain, were proceeding by the road of Arnee to Arkat. The English General hearing of this, despatched a body of troops across the Ghaut of Kunumbari, to follow and way lay the Bunjaras. The officer commanding this force made a forced night march, and took the whole of the bullocks and grain; the unfortunate Bunjaras being dispersed at the first volley. As soon as the Prince heard of this, he followed the captors of the grain, with a select body of horse, and recovered two or three thousand of the bullocks, by making desultory attacks on them; and, after this, having posted matchlock men, and archers, to shut up the road of the Ghauts against future incursions, he, according to the Nawaub's orders, encamped in the neighbourhood of Chunbargurh. Still, however, he made excursions[g] every day in the direction

[f] A tribe of Hindoos who carry grain about on bullocks for sale.

[g] سواري

of Kylas, and Vellore,[h] and sought all opportunities to defeat and destroy his enemies. It happened one day, while he was thus on the watch, that, from the vicinity of Wanumbari and Amboor Gurh, supplies of provisions were advancing to the Prince's army by the road of Pulligundah and Balinjpoor;[i] and the General, becoming acquainted with the advance of this convoy, detached four hundred musketeers to intercept it. When, however, this detachment had advanced two or three fursungs, tracing the route of the supplies, they had arrived safely in camp. The outlying picquets hearing of the detachment, and informing the Prince of its approach, he, like a hungry lion, sprang after them, and by his courage and by casting the terror of his sword and bow over them, took them all prisoners; and, having cut off the hands and noses of the greater part, he dismissed them.

The General now, after enjoying a month of leisure and ease, having put his troops in good condition, advanced by the route of Chunbar Gurh straight towards Dhoby[j] Gurh. The Nawaub, also, got his troops in readiness, and gave the command of

[h] Dylore. [i] برنجپور

[j] Hydur's encampment being at Dhoby Gurh. The description of this action is I think designedly obscure.

the right and left wings, and the main body of his army, to the most honorable and faithful of his servants; and, separating his baggage and followers from his army, with a select[k] body of men, strong and brave as Roostum,[l] and his artillery burning his enemies, remained formed for action.[m]

It happened, at this time, that the Nawaub was seated on his Koorsi, or chair, in a garden beneath a banyan tree, and was viewing the various evolutions of the troops, when the disgraced Commandant, who was standing among the Nawaub's body guard, immediately climbed up the tree like a rope dancer,[n] and hid himself among the branches and leaves, in such a way that the Nawaub should know nothing of the matter. It chanced, at that very moment, that the fortune of the battle turned,[o] or was reversed, for the breeze of victory began to blow on the standards of the General; so much, indeed, that at one charge he drove all the advanced parties before him, and, rushed on straight to the garden, like a whirlwind, or hurricane, pouring forth the storm of his fury. The Nawaub, on seeing this attack, ordered his officers and the Bukhshees to draw the artillery from under the cover of the garden,

[k] چند   [l] رستم توان عدو بریان

[m] The commencement of the action is not described.

[n] داارباز   [o] تصیه جنک منعکس کردید

and bring the guns to bear on the rear [p] of the General's army; and the musketeers and archers to keep up a well directed fire and discharge from both flanks; and these orders were immediately put in execution. At this time the Nawaub sent for his horse, (a bit of lightning), to stand near him, when the Commandant called out aloud, from the top of the tree, "this is the moment for a man to show his manhood."[q] The Nawaub, looking up to the top of the tree, smiled, and put off his mounting on horseback. The cavalry of the body guard and the cuirassiers [r] were now put in requisition, to arrest the progress of the enemy. The mighty elephants, also, armed in all ways, were drawn up along the front as a wall, while, like lions, the conquering troops plying their swords, bows, and spears, despatched a great multitude to eternity. But, in spite of this, the English troops, perfectly steady and unshaken, withstood all attacks, and with their muskets, bayonets, galloper guns, and howitzers, [s] raining fire, kept open the gates of death before the faces of their opponents, and made the battle-field like a rose-garden

[p] عقب

[q] Intimating, I believe, that Hydur should remain where he was.

[r] فولاد پوش

[s] رهكله This word signifies a bullock-cart or carriage.

with the blood of the faithful. In this state of the contest, the Prince Tippoo, and other officers, however forcibly they represented, that this was not a place in which the Nawaub could remain; that, the English with matchless bravery, had arrived near, and that the Nawaub's troops, after fighting hard to stop their progress were mostly killed and wounded; that, the plain was soaked with the blood of the slain on both sides; and that they now hoped the fire of Hydur's anger, would be extinguished by the pure water of mercy; still the Nawaub, notwithstanding their entreaties and arguments, would not stir from the place, but ordered another line of musketeers, archers, and rocket[t] or riflemen to cover the front of his position, and there he remained. The faithful servants of the Nawaub, being now without resource, thronged under the tree, and having, by signs and threats, disturbed and alarmed the brave Commandant, they induced him to come down from the tree, and with his hands tied, to fall at the feet of the Nawaub, whom he thus addressed. "Huzrut, mount your horse, this is a dangerous place, and not proper for you to remain in. Leave this deserted garden to the crows and owls,[u] and to-day plant your victorious standards, exalted as the sun and moon, in the plain of

[t] جزال

[u] Meaning the English army, apparently.

Arnee. Please God, to-morrow we will give our enemies such a defeat, that no one shall be able to find out what has become of them till the day of Judgment. The Nawaub after this mounted his horse and rode towards Arnee.

The truth is, that to bear the infirmities of temper of the brave man, and to allow him every encouragement, is indispensable to all kings and princes. In short, the commandant alone, from that place putting his horse to speed, charged like lightning straight into the ranks of the English troops; and, in spite of the showers of balls falling around him, he with his sharp sword having cut down a drummer and a standard bearer, notwithstanding he himself was wounded by a ball in the forehead, and had received a bayonet wound in his side, brought off the English flag, and returned to the presence, where he presented it to the servants of the Nawaub, and, in his honest plain spoken manner said, " this is a proof of what cowards can do." As a reward for his bravery he received a thousand praises and acknowledgments, with the honours of a valuable gorget, a dress with an embroidered vest, pearl necklace, the Nawaub's own shawls, &c.; and he also raised the head of dignity, by being restored to his rank[v] and command in the army.

[v] منصب

But, to return—when the Nawaub proceeded towards Arnee, and encamped there, the General encamped at Dhoby Gurh, and on the second day he marched to Alíabad. The troops of the Nawaub, however, still vigorously attacked the General's army on all sides; and, by suddenly charging them, and plying them with rockets, they carried away strength and stability from the feet of the infidels. After the General had encamped at Alíabad, the Nawaub thought he perceived that his views lay towards the Ghaut of Chungum, and the Barh Mahl; or, that he was preparing to march to Trichinopoly, under cover of the hills and forests. He, therefore, marched from Arnee towards Bagmar Peenth, where he displayed his victorious standards, and intimated to his Kuzzaks, and rocket-men, that they should have free liberty to plunder as much as they pleased; and eager for the spoil of their enemies, they came upon the heads of the English, like a black thunder cloud, and rained a perfect storm of musketry and rockets on every side of their army. Many of the men and women from Bengal, and the Sameris,[w] (a low tribe from the Karnatic), with loaded camels and bullocks, were taken prisoners and made slaves. The English army was, in consequence, thrown into confusion, and sought

[w] These people are called Dares in Hindostan.

the cover of the river Anumungalum, where they halted till the evening. In the course of the night they marched on to the front of Hydur's outposts;[x] for, in the way of protection, several Risalas of Musketeers, and four or five pieces of cannon, had been posted near Arnee, to command the road. Night, however, had drawn the veil of sleep and forgetfulness over the heads and faces of their courage, when, all at once, the English made an attack, and two of the guns were taken. The battalion of Hydur Alí Beg, Risaldár, who was then advancing, met and mixed with the troops of the enemy and a furious battle followed, in which a great number of men were killed and wounded, and the remainder drew themselves off to one side from the contest. The General, therefore, pressed on and surrounded the fort of Arnee; and determined to take that fort; and, certainly, several regiments of the British exerted themselves nobly; for, keeping up a continual fire, they advanced even to the gate. Nevertheless, the Killadár, whose name was Sidi Imám, behaved like a hero, in repelling his enemies; and, by a continual fire of cannon, musketry, rockets, hand-grenades, and stones, he beat back his assailants. Indeed, he himself, with a few good swordsmen, leaving the fort by a postern gate, fought with

[x] پیش منقلاي

so much intrepidity, that the stories of the prowess of Roostum and Isfendiar were thrown into the shade by his actions, and a river of blood flowed from the field of battle. But, to return—Even the General himself, for the sake of justice, was compelled to bestow a thousand praises on the bravery and devotion of the garrison; and, suddenly retiring from the fort, he forthwith proceeded on the road to Wandiwash. The Nawaub although he quickly followed him, could find no opportunity to attack him to advantage; he, therefore, encamped on the plain of Turwatoor, and the General, after halting two days at Wandiwash, marched towards Madras. The Nawaub then moved towards Timri, where he cantoned his troops for the rainy season.

About this time, spies reported that in consequence of the oppressions of the magistrates and petty officers of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, all the towns and villages of Koimbetore, Dindigul, and Paulghaut, were deserted and left with a lamp,[y] *i. e.* an inhabitant; that the Peasantry had been ruined, and the idolators[z] had set fire to the mosques and houses of the people of Islám, and had raised the standard of rebellion in those provinces, far and near; that, promptly seizing the opportunity, the Naimars of Kalikote had also trodden the path of

[y] بي چراغ

[z] عبده اوثان

deviation, or irregularity, had raised the head of pride and insolence, and had filled the country with terror; and that they had sent for a body of English troops, from Mudhura, and with their aid continued to plunder, and spill the blood of God's people.

When this news reached the Nawaub, he despatched the Prince, (Tippoo), with a large force and artillery, to reduce that country to order; that is to say, Koimbetore, Paulghat, &c.; and four thousand horse, under the command of Lala Chubeela Ram, with the Risala of Sultan Singh Silladár, were sent to ravage the district of Nelloor, and to collect grain and bullocks. Maha Mirza Khan Bukhshi, and Noor-ulabsar Khan, with two or three thousand horse, were sent to take possession of the districts of Kalistri, Vinkut Giri, and Bimraj, &c., the territory of the refractory Poligars. A Firman also, in the name of Mukhdoom Sáhib, who was Governor of the country south of Puttun,[a] and other officers of the frontier, was issued to the effect, that the Nawaub had heard that the infidel Naimars had withdrawn their heads from the collar of obedience and service, and did not consider themselves restrained, or held back, from plundering their own country, and it was therefore necessary they,

[a] Seringaputtun. The word Puttun signifies a city and it is therefore common to many cities in India.

(the officers), should, in future, to the utmost of their ability, prevent those pagans from doing any injury to the peasantry or the poor inhabitants. When this Firman was received by Mukhdoom Sáhib, he assembled his troops, and, with the officers of revenue, and pioneers,[b] marched to that quarter.

The victorious Prince, after quitting his father's presence, had proceeded by forced marches to Oontatoor, by the route of Tyag Gurh, when spies arrived with news, that a body of troops from Trichinopoly and Tujawur, (or Tanjore), had joined, with an intention to reduce the forts of Turkat Pilli, Shah Gota, and the Ghaut of Munniar Koodi; that, although Syud Sáhib had exerted himself to the extent of his power to repel these troops, he had been unsuccessful; for, from want of experience, the officer commanding the troops with him, had frequently been shamefully defeated by the Kullurs[c] of Tondiman, and the regular cavalry of Tanjore; and was so cowed or disheartened, that it was probable all that part of the country had by this time been overrun and conquered.

Immediately on receiving this information, the Prince galloped his horse[d] towards that quarter,

[b] These are called in the language of the country Muniwar and Kawuligur.

[c] كلرّان

[d] Shubdez—The horse of the Princess Shirin.

and arrived there, swift and sudden as the stroke of fate, but, before the period at which the Prince could arrive there, a circumstance accidentally occurred, which doubtless may be considered as very surprising. It appears, that one night a party of English troops marched from Trichinopoly to assault the fort of Turkat Pilli, and that a detachment, (also English), marched at the same time from Tanjore, for the same purpose; and that, without the knowledge of each other, both these parties at the same time, arrived and raised ladders, and at one assault scaled the walls and towers of that fort. The garrison not being able to oppose their assailants, escaped by a postern and hid themselves in some place near the fort. On one side, one of the parties having mounted the wall, fired a volley; the party on the opposite side, conceiving the fire proceeded from the resistance of the garrison, and that they were approaching, also advanced keeping up a continual fire. In this way, these parties fought, without knowing each other, for more than ten minutes, and displayed their courage among themselves, until near six or seven hundred men on both sides were killed or wounded. At this time, one of the officers called out to his men, in the English language, "forward, and charge your enemies." The officer on the other side, hearing

his own language, called out aloud, "Hold your hands, we are Englishmen," and (the firing being therefore discontinued), the two officers, advancing, shook hands with each other, and felt ashamed of their bad look out, and want of caution. Then, taking whatever stores were in the fort, they marched towards Shahgota. The next morning the infantry of the garrison returned into the fort and remained there until the Prince arrived, who, when he heard the adventure of the night before, smiled like the dawn of the morning. He, however, withdrew the garrison, and left the fort empty.

When the English battalions left this place, they joined some of the Kullers of Tondiman with their force, and surrounded and assaulted the fort of Shahgota. The officer who commanded in the fort was a Soubadár, of the name of Shaikh Humeed, and he, with a garrison of about two hundred men, manned the walls and towers;—and, not suffering himself to be frightened by his enemies, defended himself with great spirit, pouring such a heavy fire of musketry, with all kinds of fireworks or missiles, from the top of the walls, that the assailants could not stand it, but fled in confusion. Having collected and reformed their men, the defeated officers were about to try a second

assault, when, all at once, the sound of the kettle-drums, and trumpets of the Prince's army, reached their ears, and they became aware that a reinforcement had arrived. They, therefore, made haste to retire, under cover of the hills and jungle, to Sheo Gunga. The Prince that day encamped before the fort; and, after bestowing on the Soubadár a thousand commendations in reward for his gallant conduct, made him a present of a pair of gold armlets, a puduk, or gorget, and a jowmala,[e] or a string of pearls, and took him on with his army.

In this state of things, news arrived from the Pass or fort of Munniar Koodi, that one night a party of English troops attacked that fort, the garrison being absent on a night expedition to collect cattle and grain, in the towns depending on Sheo Gunga; and that the Náík of the fort, with twenty soldiers, and a few women, belonging to the soldiers and residing in the fort, when they became aware of the arrival of the enemy, not knowing they were English troops, and supposing them Kullurs of that neighbourhood, shut the gate, and prepared to receive them. All the women therefore assembled, and mixing cow-dung and water, heated pots and kettles full of this mixture over the fire, until

[e] A string of small pearls probably, as Jowmala signifies a string of barley.

the assailants had placed ladders against the wall and mounted, when the women, all at once raising a great shout, discharged the pots full of this boiling hot water on the heads of the storming party; while large pieces of stone, which had been laid in order on the wall, were also without ceremony cast over on them. On the other side, the little garrison gallantly pressed forward to repel the enemy, and pierced the breasts and heads of many of the assailants with balls and arrows, so that they all at once took to flight. Hearing the report of muskets from the fort, the foot soldiers of the garrison, who had gone forth to forage, or make a night attack, now hastened to return, and for the honour of the Hyduri state, fell briskly upon the enemy's rear. The storming party, being therefore hopeless of success, retreated.

The Prince was highly pleased at this exploit, but withdrew the garrison; and, having sent for them, he gave to each of the foot soldiers, as a reward for their bravery, a silver bracelet, or armlet, and to the Náík, a pair of gold armlets, and then marched towards Turwur Paleh. On the road, intelligence reached him, that the Poligar of Turwur Paleh, with his own troops, two hundred English soldiers, and the servants of Itebar Khan, the Collector of revenue, had marched from Tri-

chinopoly to his own district; and, having collected much grain and cattle there, were returning again to Trichinopoly. On hearing this, the Prince immediately made a forced march in that direction, and came upon the heads of this detachment like a thick cloud, just as their officers were preparing to cross a deep river, and were sending over their baggage in boats, and baskets. The Prince instantly gave orders to attack and plunder them; and the victorious troops rained upon them on all sides such a storm of arrows, rockets, musket balls, &c. that the officers of the enemy only, with the greatest difficulty, rowing hard in their boats, reached the opposite bank in safety. The soldiers threw themselves upon the rushing waters, like bubbles, and strove hard to escape, by striking out their hands, and feet, and, while they were in that condition, some of Hydur's brave troops, who could swim, cast themselves into this death-like torrent, shouting like thunder, and in their rage drowned some, but the greater part they drew forth like fishes, and cast them on the shore. The stores of grain, &c. were then placed on the heads of the prisoners, and despatched to the presence.

But, to return—The victorious Prince placed a strong garrison in Turwur Paleh, under the command of an officer named Mihi-ud-dín Khan, Meh-

mun, and he himself marched straight to reduce Koimbetore, &c. The English army, which had left a garrison in the small fort of Kurroor, and had arrived in the vicinity of Dharapoor, on hearing of the rapid advance of the Prince, abandoned the whole of the heavy stores they had collected, and the same night entered Kurroor. From that place, however, they again marched at night, rashly intending to make a night attack on the Prince's army. It happened that, on the road, a spark of fire from a Hooka,[f] which some one was smoking, was carried by the wind to a box of ammunition, laden on a bullock; and that exploding, blew up all the rest of the boxes of ammunition, and nearly a thousand soldiers were blown into the air, like kites and crows, and burned to death. The picquets of the Prince's army were first apprized of this, by the concussion, and the column of smoke, which arose; and they immediately marched and attacked the English on all sides, and killed the greater part of that force.—A few men, however, with a thousand difficulties, and disgraces, escaped from this place of slaughter and destruction to Trichinopoly.

Mukhdoom Sáhib, who was sent with a large force to punish certain rebellious Naimars, marched

[f] A kind of tobacco pipe.

on to their districts,[g] and, at all places wherever he marched or halted, he seized the property and violated the women of the rebellious infidels, and left no vestiges of their habitations; and, despatching troops of soldiers, with instructions to root out the rebels, he utterly destroyed the Talookas or districts of the idolators. In the meanwhile, he took up his residence in a small fort.

At length, one day, a party of these pagans, with a body of English troops, which had arrived from Mudhura, marched together, attacked this fort, and opened a fire of arrows and musketry on it. Mukhdoom, whose life was drawing near its close, with two hundred brave fellows, made a sortie[h] from the fort, and the enemy, according to an agreement previously made among them, surrounded him, and sought to take him prisoner. But that hero, not entertaining the slightest fear of the mob of his assailants, and the pride of Islám seizing him by the skirt of his honour and station, he with his brave soldiers charged them, like a falcon in the midst of a flight of

[g] The names of the districts are not mentioned, except that they belonged to the country South of Puttun, Kalistri, Vinkut Giri, &c.

[h] متوجه رزم گاه گردید

pigeons, and a river of blood soon flowed from the wounds of their enemies, inflicted by their spears and swords; but he himself drank the cup of martyrdom.

CHAPTER XXXI.

An account of the Nawaub's last expedition, that is to say, his departure for his eternal abode in Paradise: and some account of the goodness of his disposition, his habits, his abilities, and the rules of conduct he prescribed to himself; with other matters. Also, the death of General Coote, which occurred before the death of the Nawaub, in the same year, Hijri, 1196.—A. D. 1781-2.

The Nawaub, after the battle of Arnee, retreated[i] and encamped in the plain of Trivatoor. In the month of Zikad, 1196, Hijri, after an accidental scratch on his shoulders, the support of the world, a deadly boil or abscess made its appearance, and when this was shown to an able physician, he having examined it, conceived it to arise from a disordered stomach, and endeavoured to remedy it by depletion and purgative medicines. No relief, however, followed this practice; and, the abscess becoming larger daily, the pain broke down Hydur's strong frame, and the physician, having afterwards

[i] برگردیده

ascertained the distinctive signs of the disease, stated in private to the Nawaub, that it was a disease called Surtan,[j] and that its best remedy was the application of a sheep's liver; and that stimulating medicines, by dispelling the vapours of the body, and cleansing the blood, were the most likely to cure it.

As soon, however, as the Nawaub heard that the name of the disease was Surtan, he became certain that his last hour had arrived. He, however, did not allow fear or apprehension to assume a place in his mind, but remained absorbed in the order and regulation of his army and kingdom. About this time, spies brought intelligence, that that able officer General Coote had left this transitory world. On hearing this, the Nawaub sighed deeply, and said, "he was a wise and an able man, that he should by his experience have kept on equal terms with us."[k] But, to return—In this state he remained a short time on the plain of Timri, and in the environs of Rani Peenth, and again some time at Mahimundul Gurh; and from that he proceeded, by easy stages, to Poona, a town, two Kose north of Arkat, where he pitched his tents. Here, however, of a sudden, the disease assumed great malignity, and completely prostrated his strength and

[j] A Cancer seemingly.

[k] تا از ما بسربرد

spirits; and he was at length obliged to take to his bed. Yet, notwithstanding his ministers frequently represented the necessity of sending for his son Tippoo,—for that the Prince, had long desired to pay his duty to his father,[l]—he in reply merely said "Why do you trouble me in this manner?" At length, however, he sent for his Moonshi, (secretary), to the presence, and ordered him to write to the Prince, to the following purport, "that he was to make all necessary arrangements in that quarter, (where he was stationed) as quickly as possible, and then return; that he was deeply to consider the result of all the necessary relations, and connexions[m] of the government small and great; and that, if troops were necessary to his aid, he should send for them; for that, in matters of state, he had given him power to act at discretion or as he pleased; and that he was not to neglect or forget his duties to the government for a moment." The next day the Nawaub threw open the doors of his treasury, and gave all the soldiers of his army every Kutcheri or regiment separately, the amount of one month's pay as a gift. On the last day of Mohurrum il Huram, he asked his attendants what was the date

[l] MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

[m] لوازمات دولت This paragraph is very darkly expressed.

of the month, they replied, "this is the last day of the month Zi Huj, and to-night is the first of Mohurrum."[n] He then directed that water might be made ready for him to bathe, and, although the physician objected to his bathing, they turned him out of the tent, and the Nawaub bathed. Then, having put on clean clothes, he repeated some prayer or invocation on his finger, rubbing his face; and at the same time despatched two thousand horse to plunder and ravage the country of the Poligars north of Arkat, and five thousand horse towards Madras, for the same purpose, and to alarm the people there. He next sent for some of his officers, and gave them strict orders for the regulation of their departments, and afterwards swallowed a little broth, and laid down to rest. The same night his ever victorious spirit, took its flight to Paradise.—*Verses.*[o] "Be he a beggar or a conquering king,"—"both must depart from this pleasant abode (the world)"—"When death follows any one,"—"He allows not a moment's delay,"—"In this chapter all are powerless; lovers and friends,"—"Wife and children,"—"The body, which has been nurtured in wealth and luxury,"—"must at last sleep in the cold grave."—

[n] The months of the Muhammadans are as is well known Lunar.

[o] اگر باشد گدا یا شاه فیروز
بباید رفت زین کاخ دل افروز

"The soldiers of death fear no armies;"—"They do not fear the warrior,"—"A revolution of this round empty world."—"And at once Hydur, and what belonged to Hydur, passed away."

Although a detail of the (excellent) disposition, and the powerful abilities of that pardoned great man, (Hydur), is far beyond the reach of either tongue or pen, still according to usage, one (good quality) for a thousand is here presented.

In penetration, and in store of practical wisdom, the deceased Nawaub took the lead from all the State Ministers, Princes, and Kings of former days. In grandeur of display, and in abundance of the elements or principles of opulence and greatness, he had no equal.[p] He was the friend and protector of the soldier, and was altogether full of kindness and generosity. His court was magnificent; but, except himself, few dared to speak therein. Whatever he desired to be done, he himself ordered, and the rest of the assembly had no choice but to give their assent. He did not like great talkers, (or makers of long speeches;) the subject of conversation in his assemblies was generally relative to the order and regulation of kingdoms and empires, or to swords, muskets, jewels, horses, elephants, or invigo-

[p] In the original, the sense is repeated in other words, as in other Oriental writings.

rating medicines. His understanding was wonderful. He entertained, to a boundless extent, the pride of rank and station, and the noble desire to attempt great things; but of foolish pride, or vain glory, he had none; he had expelled them from his mind. In all the cities and towns of his territory, besides news-writers, he appointed, separately, secret writers, and spies, to patrol the streets at night; and from them he received his intelligence. From morning till night, he never remained a moment idle. He was a slave to the regulation of his working establishments,[q] or manufactories, and, if any one of the officers or overseers of the works was indolent, or neglectful, he sent for him, and punished him according to his offence; telling him, at the same time, "We gave charge to you of this work, relying on your honesty and fidelity, why have you spoiled it?" When he sat down to table, he ate of all the dishes present; he, however, showed most fondness for salt and sour dishes. He finished his dinner with rice and peas.[r] He was not fond of sweet dishes. In his journeys or marches, he mostly subsisted on parched gram, (Cicer arietinum,) almonds, and dry bread, made of rice, or jowar, (Holcus spicatus,) and Khush-khush Soorkh, or as at is called in this coun-

[q] كارخانه

[r] دال خشكه The Pigeon pea or cytisus cajanus.

try, Raggi, (Cynosurus coracanus,) with which he appeared well contented. In his dress, he was very fond of red, and na furmani, or purple, and the chintz of Boorhanpoor; the latter he wore continually. The turban he wore on his fortunate head was red or purple, one hundred hands, or cubits, in length. When he took his seat on the Musnud, he laid before him a shining short sword,[s] or dagger, with a hilt studded with diamonds.

All the operations or measures undertaken by Hydur's government, small or great, were superintended by himself in person; in so much, that even leather, the lining of bullock-bags, or tent-walls, and strands of rope, all passed under his inspection, and were then deposited in his stores. He kept all merchants, traders, and bankers, pleased with him, by making them kingly presents; and he also bought up their goods, with the greatest avidity, and at high prices. To horse dealers he gave presents of gold and raiment, besides the value of the horses he purchased; and so liberal was he, that if, on the road through his territories, any horse by chance died, he paid half the price of the horse, after the arrival of the tail and mane, with a certificate from the civil officers of the district. His loans, and advances of money

[s] نیمچه

were scattered like sand over the face of the earth. His estimate of the value of the brave and experienced soldier, of whatever tribe or caste he might be, was very high; and any man, who had distinguished himself by his bravery, he heartily cherished and protected, and used his endeavours to promote and exalt him. Any experienced person, acquainted with business, he appointed Amil,[t] Foujdár, or Ameen. He was, however, the enemy, of the indolent and luxurious; and the backs and sides of his negligent and extortionate servants were frequently softened by stripes of the whip. A man that had been removed from his place, after proof of neglect or mal-administration of his duties to government, or of extortion, extravagance, or oppression of God's people, and whose delinquencies were attested by official persons, was never restored to his office. He placed all offices of responsibility in the hands of wise and honorable persons. In all his departments, territorial and fiscal, present or absent, he maintained a newswriter, certain Hurkaras, and a secret writer; each of whom, without being acquainted with the others, acquired a knowledge of every action of his servants good or bad. Sometimes by night, secretly, and covered with a Gileem or blanket, he went out, alone, into the

[t] Governor of a district, or town, and Collector of Revenue.

streets and lanes of the city, to ascertain the condition of the inhabitants, the poor, and strangers; and in camp he usually did the same. His months and years were generally spent in marches and expeditions; and, in fact, he considered his life, and the success of his measures, as dependent on his continual movements about the country. The delight given by new scenery, or a new ground of encampment, fresh springs, and the grateful shade of the tent, in no circumstances did he ever forego. For he did even as God in the Koran has commanded, "Go walk forth in the earth,"[u] which passage plainly indicates the necessity for travel. In the training and education of his sons he took great pains, although he himself was apparently entirely illiterate, and had never learned to read or write. However, in the weight of his judgment, (delighting in difficulties,) given him by God, he surpassed all the learned and wise of his time; and, although sparing of speech, yet, when he did speak, his language was extremely pleasing and appropriate. To enable him to sign public documents, a qualification indispensable to rulers of kingdoms, he with much labour copied, until he could write, the form of one letter; the letter ح which he wrote reversed, in this manner . Yet, as has been before

[u] فسيروا قي الارض

mentioned, he was very solicitous regarding the education of his sons, and appointed men of his court to the duties of tutors and servants to them, who made him acquainted with every particular relating to their manners and conversation; and sentinels, from the Nawaub's guard, were placed around their houses or tents.

Whenever, the Sáhibzada, (Wala Kudr) Tippoo, was commissioned to repel enemies, or to attack forts, to whatever quarter he might be sent, he was first summoned to the presence, and the Nawaub with his own lips told him, that he had selected him for this service, because he found him worthy in all matters to be employed; that he committed a force of so many horse and foot, so many guns, and a treasury of so much money to his orders; and that he must take great care no neglect occurred, and, using great prudence and caution, return successful. He then dismissed him. The officers and men, who were placed under Tippoo on this occasion, were also sent for, and strictly enjoined that, as the Prince was young, they should never allow him to be separate from them, or peril himself by inconsiderate rashness; but, on the contrary, consider his safety at all times, as placed at their responsibility by their faith and agreement. When, fortunate and victorious, the Prince returned to the

presence from his expedition, he was again placed under surveillance, as above related. In truth the well-bred and those who have acquired the sentiments and manners of the exalted,[v] never allow their children to associate or play with the low[w] or vulgar, and thereby fall, and be degraded from their station and rank.—*Verse.* "To avoid the friendship of bad men is profitable:" "the company of Assafœtida[x] will spoil the finest musk."[y] It is very frequently seen, that the children of great men, by reason of too great liberty, the exceeding indulgence of the Father, and the society of low people, have so far sunk from the footing of nobility, and rank, that, they have never again raised the head of respectability. But, to continue—The young Princes had permission to sleep in their Zunanas, or women's apartments, only every fourth night.

On most occasions, Hydur used patiently to bear with the petulance and coarseness of the brave men in his service. As, for instance, one day, in the Nawaub's Court, or assembly,[z] some recollections of the battle of Churkoli were introduced. The Nawaub[a] said, that on that day his whole army, had followed the path of cowardice; that, they had run away before his face; that no one with his

[v] والا فطرة [w] اوباش [x] انگوزه
[y] مشک اذفر [z] مجلس [a] بزبان مبارک

sword in his hand had exerted himself faithfully; and, that they, (the officers,) to save their own lives, had sacrificed those of their men. Among those who were present there, was Yaseen Khan Wunti Koodri, who had followed the path of faith and honour in that battle, and who had there devoted, as a charitable donation [b] to the sword and spear, the whole of his body, and one eye; and he said, in answer, "Yes, Sir, (Bulli Huzrut,) what you say is true; for such occurrences arise from fate, and depend on the will and power of no man. Yet, this eye of mine, for what was it put out?—and for what man, (using a term of low abuse), did I lose the blessings of sight, the pleasure of beholding the lights and shades [c] of this many coloured world, the object and delight of life!"—The Nawaub smiled at this, and said,—"I did not mean you."

One day, also, he gave the Commandant Muhammad Alí, some orders relative to a military movement; and the Commandant, to complete his charge, required a sum of money, or a military chest. The Nawaub, at this request, became very angry, and said "By this account thou takest monthly a large sum in gold, as much as thy mother's dower, or marriage present, [d] and spendest it in

[b] وقف [c] حسن و قبح

[d] مهرمادر Allusions of this kind are considered very indelicate.

all manner of ways, and now, the time having arrived when there is something to do, thou demandest more money from me. Every piece of gold thou hast received up to the present day, I will recover from thee, and, after putting thee in irons,[e] thou shalt be added to the chain of thieves, or felons, deserving death, for thou hast spent much of the public money in worthless matters, and now, in time of need, thou wishest to reduce me to poverty." The hard featured and impudent[f] Commandant, at this, turning his face from the Nawaub towards the Clerks of the Treasury, and, while speaking to them, alluding to the Nawaub, said "The depth of the Sirkar's (Nawaub's) understanding is evident! The old man is merely giving himself airs on his penetration and knowledge. In this matter money is indispensable, and, if not given, the measures of the government will be ruined." This impudent address was heard by the Nawaub; but he, with the indifference of a great man, and the indulgence he was accustomed to allow his servants, took no notice of the impertinence of his insolent though faithful officer, and merely told the people of the Treasury to give that vulgar,

[e] طوق و زنجیر   [f] شوخ منش

greedy fellow, what he wanted. Occurrences similar to these happened frequently.

In the sciences of palmistry and physiognomy [g] he was unequalled in his time or age. One of the keen glances of his exalted understanding did an immense deal of work. As, for instance, it decided without difficulty the enlistment of recruits, the merits of horses about to be purchased, and their price, the appreciation of valuable articles, (as the knowledge of the kinds and worth of precious stones), and the selection of them. It was equally available when he was listening to the subjects of despatches, territorial and revenue, individual [h] applications, newspapers, (Ukhbar), and in issuing immediate replies, to every suitor, and to every one of these various and conflicting details. His profound knowledge also of the quality and value of arms, and instruments of war, occasioned him no trouble, but came to him as it were instinctively. To his strength of memory thousands of praises are justly due; for, although former great and mighty kings, and rulers, had the advantage of learning on their side, yet God, the true preserver,[i] never endowed any of them with the clear intellect and memory of Hydur.—*Verses.* " Every man is

[g] قيافه و نظربازي [h] فرد ياد داشت

[i] حافظ Signifies memory and preservation.

made for his work;" "the ability to perform his part being implanted by nature in his mind."

One day, a religious quarrel took place between the Shiahs and the Soonnis, and the dispute had advanced, from the tongue and words, to hands and daggers, when the Jasoos, or spies, of the government reported the whole to Hydur. The Nawaub ordered both parties to be brought before him, and then said to them, "What foolish dispute is this; and why do you bark like dogs at each other?" The Soonni here replied, "Protector of the *World*, this spiteful man was presumptuous, in speaking of the successors of the last of the prophets, Muhammad, (on whom, and on his family and companions, be peace); the stars of the firmament of religion; and he even went so far as to use abusive language towards them, and your slave, at hearing him, felt as though a thorn had been broken in his heart." The Shiah was next asked, in the same way, and he, according to the tenets of his false religion, said "Abubukr Sideek, the first Khálif, did so and so to Moortuza Alí, and Omr, the second Khálifah, did so and so, in regard to the lovely Fatima, and frequently ill-treated her. Knowing this, therefore, why are the descendents of the sons of Hussein to speak respectfully of such men." The Nawaub, in his wisdom, not wishing to

hurt the religious feelings of either party, asked the Shiah, "Are those persons whom you reproach, alive?" The Shiah answered, "No." The Nawaub then, with the anger natural to his disposition, said to him, "He is a man who declares his opinion of the good, or evil, of another before his face, not behind his back. Do you not know that back-biting is unlawful? And I should think that, as you act in this manner, you must also be base born.[j] If you ever again waste and destroy your time and that of the Sirkar in such an irreverent, wicked dispute, you may rely on it a camel bag[k] and a mallet will be ready for you."[l]

One day, in Hydur's court or assembly, people of both these sects, (Soonnis and Shiahs,) were present; and one of the Soonnut Jumaut related an anecdote of a traveller, who was proceeding on a journey on horseback. It happened, that the road was very miry, and, all at once, the hoofs of the horse sunk in a quagmire, and he stuck fast. The horseman, therefore, dismounted, and seizing the bridle, began to pull him out; saying, "Come forth, by the truth of the Sideek Abubukr!" The horse, however, did not move. He then said, "By the established justice of Huzrut[m] (Omr,) Farook, come

[j] حرام Signifies both. [k] شليطه

[l] Seemingly alluding to some kind of punishment.

[m] Term of respect.

forth!" But the horse made no movement. He then said, "By the strength of the understanding of Huzrut Osman, step forward." The horse, however, still remained stock still. At length, he exclaimed, "By the might and valour of the great Moortuzvi, or Moortuza, (Alí), step on!" The moment he said this, the horse, plunging, came out of the mud. The horseman, now drawing his sword, said, "O horse, thou art become a heretic! (Rafizi), thou art of no use to me;" and with one stroke of his sword he cut off his legs. On hearing this story, the Nawaub[n] smiled, and said, "A wonderful fool this man must have been! Did he not know that he who was the strongest brought the horse out of the mire!"

Sometimes he was fond of sporting his wit,[o] or of joking, with his associates or companions, particularly with Alí Zumán Khan. At the time the Souba of Sura was conquered, the Nawaub, one day mounted his horse to look at the city, and rode through the streets and lanes. Now it is the fashion of the city, that there are many tombs in front of the doors of the houses, and also in the streets or roads.

[n] This story shews that Hydur Alí, although he trimmed between the two parties, like most uneducated Mussulmen in India, was a Shiah.

[o] مزاج عاقلانه

The Nawaub, therefore, asked those who were with him, how these tombs became placed in the middle of the town. Those persons replied, that, apparently, the whole space had been formerly waste land; but now, men seeing that God's people were protected, and the peasantry encouraged, by His Highness, they had assembled from all parts and had built the city. The Nawaub said, "A truce to your compliments! Do you not know, that these men and women died fighting for their houses."[p]

The word Lowndika, which means the son of a slave girl, a term much in use among the Dukkanees, was also continually on the tongue of the Nawaub, and, if he was angry with any one, he called him by this name; but, it was also used as an endearing, fond, appellation, to which was attached great favour; until, one day, Alí Zumán Khan, by inferences and hints represented to him that the word was low, discreditable, and not fit for the use of men of knowledge, and rank. The Nawaub smiled, and said, "O friend, you and I are both the sons of slave women, and the two Husseins only, on whom be good wishes[q] and Paradise, (or acceptance with God,) are the sons of a Bibi, or lady." These

[p] Alluding perhaps to the quarrelsome character of the Dukkanees.

[q] تحیه

words highly pleased those who were present, and they fully agreed with him, for this reason, that the title of the illustrious mother[r] of those great men is the lady or Queen of both worlds.[s]

Whenever he despatched a body of troops to perform any particular service, he was never free from anxiety respecting that force; constantly supplying them with all things necessary, as money, military stores, and grain for men and cattle. In the repairs of the forts which he took, and the construction of new walls or defences, he expended hundreds of thousands of pounds; as, indeed, the state of most of the strong hill forts in the Payanghaut and Balaghaut will afford sufficient testimony.

The name of cut purse,[t] thief, or highway robber, was erased from the records of the cities, towns, and villages, of his dominions; and if, by accident, any highway robbery, &c. was committed, the Kawuligur, or guard, of that part was impaled without delay, and another person appointed to his office; one who feared God, and had a tender heart. He kept his troops always in good humour, by gifts

[r] Fatima.

[s] The veneration of the Shiahs for Fatima, approaches nearly to the devotion, or worship, offered to the Virgin Mary by the Catholics.

[t] اوچکه

and favours, and his peasantry highly pleased, by (favourable) assurances and agreements.

During the whole of his reign, the only innovations he made were in the impression of the Hoon, or Pagoda, on one side of which was the letter ح, and on the other dots; and in the half pence[u] or copper coins, the currency of this country, on one side of which is impressed the figure of an elephant. The reason of this latter was, that Hydur's own elephant, called Poon Guj, an extremely handsome animal in its form and proportions, and very steady in its paces, in so much that Hydur prized him above all his other elephants, died suddenly; and Hydur, being much grieved at his death, to perpetuate his memory had his figure stamped on his copper coinage. He made no other change. About this time, however, being one day very angry with his Ohdedars, and Howalehdars, the civil officers of his working departments, who had spoiled some work committed to their charge, by chance the Darogha or master of the mint presented himself, and asked the Nawaub what device he would have struck on his new copper coinage. Hydur, in a violent passion, told him to stamp an obscene figure[v] on it; and he, agreeably to these orders, struck that day four or five thousand of these coins, and they

[u] فلوس و کاس پیسي

[v] کیر

passed among the currency for some time. At length, certain learned men made a representation to the Nawaub on the subject, and the coins were called in, and melted down. The pence and half pence of the elephant are, however, still current.

Every Monday night, whether marching, or halting, he had a set of dancing[w] girls, with foreheads like Venus, and countenances like the moon, to dance before him. In the time of the Dussera, the Eed or festival of the Mahrattas, although this was a custom of the Infidels, to follow which he in his heart was averse, still, with a view to please and gain the affections of the Mysoreans, that is, the descendants of Jug[x] Kishen Raj Oodere, and his ministers; for to the deceased Nawaub every heart was dear; and, also, because the service or agency of infidels is not infidelity; he held a banquet of ten days, and the sons of Kishen Raj, and also of Nundiraj, were admitted to the presence; and, for two or three hours, the Nawaub amused himself, by seeing fire works, the fighting of stags, the fierce attacks of buffaloes, and the charges of elephants, like mountains, on each other, and the boxing and wrestling of strong prize fighters, who in the Dukkun are called

[w] طايفه

[x] See an account of the Hindoo Princes of Mysore in Col. Wilks's History of that country.

Jetti. A Ghirbal,[y] or circular enclosure, having been formed, in front of the Jetti Mahl, or theatre for prize-fighting, and a chained tiger placed therein, asses, to which strong spirits had been given instead of water, were let loose on the tiger; and, on seeing the bounds or leaps of the tiger, and kicking and braying of the asses, the Nawaub was accustomed to laugh, and be much amused. Abyssinians, also, dressed in woollen armour,[z] with staves of sandal wood, were set to fight with bears. Some of the Nawaub's bravest servants, at their own request, were also selected and placed in the circle against a fierce lion or tiger. In firing at a mark, with a musket or matchlock, there was not in the world the Nawaub's equal; for, in the midst of the circle was fixed a plantain tree, and the man who was fighting with the lion was ordered to attack him round or under cover of the tree. If in the event the brave man conquered, and slew the lion or tiger, he, with presents of gold, dresses, and increase of pay, was rendered independent of all worldly want; but, on the contrary, if the tiger was conqueror, and had cast the man on the ground, the Nawaub took up his matchlock, and fired with such unerring precision that the ball passed through the tiger's head, and the man rose up uninjured.

[y] غربال

[z] خفتان

At the commencement and end of his government, to terrify his adversaries, he was accustomed to order the ears and noses of the Mahratta and other prisoners to be cut off; and in the expedition to Arkat, at the suggestion of some of his villainous eunuchs, many of the loveliest maidens there, of any tribe, either with the consent of their parents or relations, or by force, were sent for, and compelled to submit to his embraces. Beautiful Slave girls, not arrived at womanhood, whom he had acquired by the same means, were also sent by him to the Natuk Sala,[a] in the women's apartments, (for instruction in singing and dancing.) The Nawaub was accustomed to shave his beard, moustaches, eyebrows, and eyelashes. He was very dark, and strong bodied, but of middle size.

The impression on his seal was the following verse:

بهر تسخیر جهان شد فتح حیدر اشکار
لافتا الا علي لا سیف الا ذوالفقار [b]

"Futteh Hydur was manifested, or born, to conquer the world. There is no man equal to Alí and no sword like his."

His pocket seal bore the words فتح حیدر

In fine, from the beginning of the rise of his

[a] The theatre of the Hindus.

[b] A sword taken by Muhammad from an Arab at the battle of Budr, which descended to Alí.

fortune, to his death, his conduct was distinguished by vigilance, experience, and wisdom.

Some person found the date of his decease in the following sentence,

اه مرد حیدري دل رفت

" Ah! the Lion hearted man is dead."

And another has found the date in these words,

جان بالاکهات برفت

" The life or soul of the Balaghaut is gone."

The numerical value of these letters gives the date 1196 Hijri.

ختم بالخير

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

The following character of Hydur Alí, is translated from a Persian work called Ahwali Hydur Náík, No. 1845,—in the East India Company's Library. The author appears to have been a certain Mirza Ikbal.

This book which is written with apparent candour, certainly with no partiality to Hydur, after premising that there are many different accounts of Hydur's origin, states that he himself was accustomed to assert that he was derived from the Kings of Bejapoor; and that when their Government ended, and Sultan Sikundur, the last King of Bejapoor was killed, he left a son eight years of age, who was saved from his enemies and with a few jewels, taken secretly by his mother to Kirpa, [c] where he remained unknown until he died, leaving a son who entered the service of the Afghans of Kirpa, as did his son also.

[c] Cuddapah.

The last mentioned, left two sons, who served the Afghans of Kirpa and Kurnole in the lowest grade of military rank, that of Náík, or corporal of regular infantry.[d]

The son of one of these men (whose name is not mentioned,) was named Muhammad Náík. His son was Alí Náík, and his son Futteh Náík. Futteh Náík had two sons, Hydur Náík and Shahbaz Náík. Hydur it is said, was born at Sura.

When Hydur's fortunes first rose, on the ruins of those of the Raja of Mysore, his humble and agreeable manners attracted from all parts many adventurers to his service; and it appears that, in his Durbars, or levees, he assumed no distinction between himself and one of his private troopers, nor were any deductions made from the pay of his soldiery.

When, however, the Raja of Mysore was deposed, Hydur began to raise the head of pride. By degrees, he became strange, and forgetful, asking the names of his former friends, and requiring from them sundry obeisances, and respectful observances; and, when his territory and army increased, he gave his troops only a month's pay in six weeks, and this, also, with the deduction or difference of Shumsi

[d] باړ so called, perhaps, because when formed they resemble a wall, or hedge.

and Kumri, or solar and lunar months. For instance, if a man was engaged in the service, nominally at five hundred rupees a month, he was paid for a period of six weeks, (called there a month), by Puttie, or Order, three hundred rupees only; so that, in fact, he received but two hundred rupees a month, and so with the rest, in proportion.

As his troops gradually became quiet and orderly, so in the same degree did he become vicious, and they were exposed to abuse and the whip, or heavy headed cudgel,[e] and the stick or rattan.[f] Towards the end of his reign he abandoned all consideration for any persons, however respectable; these persons, too, having been attracted to his service by delusive promises and dissimulation. He gave them, notwithstanding, the vilest abuse, and for the least fault put them to death. In his Durbars or levees no one dared converse, or even whisper. If any one had a wedding in his house, he could not invite any friends, except through the Nawaub, and the agency of his servants; and, even then, he gave his Wordi Hurkaras[g] orders to go and see and hear what was said and done. These men, therefore, were in general bribed not to tell

[e] تغماغ [f] چماق

[g] وردي an English word adopted by Hydur.

the truth; but he believed all they told him. If he had advanced any one of his servants money, the third part of his pay was stopped until the amount was refunded; and if any one paid the debt on demand, he was accustomed to demand interest, under the pretence that he had borrowed the money from a banker for him. But, when he had obtained the interest, he said "this man is rich, why did he borrow money from me? seize his goods," and, accordingly, his property was sometimes confiscated, or stolen by thieves set on by Hydur's authority.

When he was on the field of battle, contrary to his former custom, when all he required was done by the influence of kindness and friendship, now, he looked stedfastly at the enemy, and said to his own horsemen,—"Do you see that man, standing yonder with his soldiers?" That man is your Father [h]—you must kill him, or be killed; for, if you come back without killing him, I will certainly put you to death myself in this very place;" as, indeed, to inspire terror, he had before often done. And when stimulated and forced on by the abuse he gave them, the horse had charged the enemy he sent for the Sauises (grooms or horsekeepers) of the cavalry,

[h] The insinuation intended to be conveyed by these words is not to be expressed.

and, giving them bamboos and shoes, he placed them in line, himself taking post in the rear of the whole, and giving orders to them to strike and beat any one who retreated. The poor horsemen, forced on by the disgrace of the stick, and the torrent of abuse following them, gave themselves up to death uselessly. He never, however, took the pains to bury them after they were slain. As an instance of this neglect; one day, that a great battle had been fought between him and the English General Coote, the General, after the battle was over, despatched a message to Hydur, stating that his (Hydur's) horsemen had done their duty, and fulfilled the conditions of their contract with him, by sacrificing their lives in his service, and that it was now time he should perform his duty, as their master, and direct some one to bury their bodies. Stung by the sharp reproof conveyed in this message, he immediately sent for Meer Muhammad Sadik Khan, his Dewaun or Minister, and ordered him to bury them. In reply, however, to General Coote, he merely said, that he did not want any of his advice.

If any one was sent in command of an expedition, and was delayed or unsuccessful, he was on his return sent for to the presence, and severely reproached by Hydur himself. If, on the contrary, he did his work soon and was successful, still, on

his return, he was abused for having, (as Hydur said), sacrificed the lives of his best men in rash, and profitless attacks. In fact, in his life he was never known to praise any one. In all his measures he availed himself of the aid of threats and violence, to instil fear into men's minds.

He was accustomed to have a party of Bayaderes, dancing women, early every night at his tents. If the woman, who danced was a Hindu, she was required to wear a white dress ;—if she was a Mussulman woman, a dress embroidered with gold. In her dancing, however, she was not permitted to laugh or smile, or display any wanton steps or gestures ; she was required to dance and sing slowly. Let there be ever so many men present, the attention and eyes of all were to be fully occupied, and absorbed, in the beauty of the Nawaub himself alone. If any of the men present cast his eyes towards the dancing girls, God preserve us ! the Nawaub would immediately call out " Look ! look well ! for your mother, (meaning the dancing girl), has left her house, and is occupied in dancing in the midst of her husbands." If it was any one of his friends, however, he was more civil.

During his government, his recruiting for the army was carried to that extent, that he even enlisted blind men. The reason of this was, that, as he was riding out one day, a blind man asked him

for alms, and he desired his Chobedár, (silver stick), to ask the beggar if he would take service with him. The beggar consented, and Hydur sent him off to the arsenal, and directed that he might be employed in blowing the bellows of the blacksmith's forge, and also that he should be allowed every year two cotton cloths, and a falam or five annas, (about seven pence), a day; and when the artillery marched, he was to be placed on one of the artillery tumbrils and brought along with them. He also directed the Darogha of his artillery to enlist as many blind men as he could find.

In the taking of towns, it was his custom, after the plunder of the inhabitants, to allow them to remain in peace. After a short time, however, he was used to assemble the Dullalah, [women who beat the Dohul, (a small drum), at marriages;] and, as they are free to enter all houses, he required them to point out where the handsomest maidens resided. To those houses he sent, and seized the girls, and had them brought to him; and among them those who were remarkable for their bloom and delicacy, elegance of form, length of hair, and complexion, he placed among his own women; and, in general, these women were most in request[i] by him. They had also salaries, or es-

[i] حضورطلب

tablishments, and were placed under the Jamautdár of the women, one of his senior wives; as for the rest, he never sent for them again, but either returned them to their parents, or partitioned them amongst his followers. In this way he collected a great number of women, but his old wives were the chiefs of all the new ones.

On the day that was fixed for the Nawaub to visit the Mahl, or women's apartments, every Chief lady had her division of women, dressed in a different colour, and standing apart; the red party, the green, the violet, the yellow. Some wore rose-coloured dresses, others orange, the Nafurmani or purple, the spotted, white, gold, sandal, and Mokyyush. On these occasions they sat down near him, but he seldom spoke to them; nor did they speak, except his first wife, the sister of Meer Alí Ruza Khan, the mother of Tippoo. He was always very fond of her, and compelled the rest of his women to to pay their respects to her every morning. Sometimes, however, she and Hydur used to quarrel. On these occasions, he bore the violence of the lady's tongue with great resignation and patience; until, at length, rising up, he would say, "It is from fear of your tongue that I have given up entering the women's apartments."

When he came out and sat down in his private room, he was accustomed to tell his friends, such as Ghoolaum Alí Khan, Bahadúr, and Alí Zumán Khan, that Tippoo's mother had treated him very harshly indeed; that, he had not the courage to answer, or argue with her; that, when she complained, he had no choice but to leave the apartment; but that still he was fond of her, because she undertook, in her own person, the management of every thing in his house, and laboured for his welfare; but that she had a long tongue[j] and a high sounding voice, and that he was afraid to listen to her. However, that she should do as she pleased.

Every time he entered the women's apartments she was the first person he called; desiring her to come to him. She in reply, would say, "What do you want with me?" But he never entered the Mahl without taking some valuable presents to her.

His eating and sleeping was always outside the Mahl, but every night two or three of the ladies of his family were in attendance on him.

He was very stedfast in his word to his Talookdárs, (or revenue officers), and merchants; and with these two classes of men he was never known

[j] "From morn till night the shrill alarum rung."

to break his faith.[k] And this was the mode of his agreements. If any of his revenue agents farmed a district from him, although he strove to raise the amount to be paid as high as possible, yet, if any profit was derived beyond the government money, he never took more than the precise sum stipulated; indeed, many persons have offered him the surplus: but he, in reply, said, "If the amount contracted for with government, had been short, I should have exacted the deficiency; and, therefore, if the farmer gets more, I have no right to interfere between him and his good fortune." If he confided to any one the charge of a district, God protect him if he took to the value of a blade of grass, besides the dues assigned to him by Hydur! he was sure to be flayed alive. Whenever information arrived, that so much money was due from the farmer of the revenue, he first sent for him and demanded the money, and, if it was not paid, he prepared to compel him by oppressive and cruel means, of which an account will be given hereafter.

His management with merchants, generally, was so excellent as to be beyond all praise; but more particularly his kindness to horse dealers. He, however, expected, while he extended his favour to

[k] He never kept his faith with any one else.

them, that they also should conform to his pleasure, and that the horses they brought should not be sold until he had seen them ; and if any horse died after it entered his boundaries, and the tail and good evidence of the fact were produced, he paid half the price of the horse. He always saw the horses himself, and, having seen them, fixed their prices. After four days had elapsed, he sent for the merchants, and having paid them separately, for as many horses as he had approved, he presented them with an order for the discharge of the Rahdari or customs, and told them they must consider themselves his guests the next day, and after that depart. When the morning arrived, he sent them a number of measures of rice, some sheep, butter, and other materials for a feast. The result of his liberality was, that horses were brought to him from all quarters ; but, if any horse dealer sold a horse before Hydur saw it, and his Hurkaras became acquainted with the circumstance, he would neither buy any of the horses himself, nor allow any one else to buy them. For this reason, no other person could get a good horse ; and, if they bought any of the horses rejected by Hydur, they were generally dear and good for nothing.

As he never gave his servants leave to return to their own countries, they, pining to visit their homes,

clothed themselves like religious beggars, and ran away secretly with these horse dealers.

Notwithstanding the great riches which God from his hidden treasures had granted to him, he was at times so avaricious that even the pen is ashamed to write an account of his meanness. Sometimes, however, on the reverse, he became very generous; but, in fact, amassing wealth appeared to him as the renovation of his faculties.[1] Indeed, many men followed him to the field, and lost their lives there, to whom or to whose children or relations, he never gave a single farthing. He never gave his dancing girls, who every day danced before him, any thing beyond their yearly allowance, except, perhaps, a trifle on very rare occasions. On those days, when before the balcony (of the palace) a lion net was suspended, and a man and a lion were placed in the area, to fight together, if the lion killed the man, nothing was given; but if the man killed the lion, he received the present of a golden chain, or necklace. In general, however, he was so good a marksman with his matchlock, that he did not suffer the lion to kill the man.

During the Dussura of the Hindus, he was comparatively liberal to his friends, the prize fighters, wrestlers, &c.; but, after all he never gave much.

[1] حواس

He never allowed any reduction of the allowances of the Hindu temples.

His memory was excellent; to that extent that he would recollect a word for years. Any one whom he had seen twenty years before, in the dress of people of the world, he would recognize, after that period, in the patched garment of a mendicant.[m] It is related of him, that, one day, he told the Darogha of his stable to bring an old saddle, which had been laid by and neglected for a long time. When it was brought and examined, he said, "there is another saddle missing; it is a Mahratta saddle, with a housing of yellow broad cloth, moth-eaten, and I desired it might be wrapped up in a cloth, and taken care of." This also, on search was found, and he had given the orders he mentioned eleven years before.

As soon as morning appeared, he sat down on his chair,[n] and washed his face. During this, all his Hurkaras (spies and messengers) stood about him, on all sides, repeating the news and intelligence of the day before. His memory and his hearing were equally wonderful, for he could readily distinguish and comprehend the different voices, and details; this was really astonishing.

[m] فقير

[n] Chowki, a kind of low stool or chair.

The people of Mysore would not give credit to what was said of him; but, on trying repeatedly, it was found that they were wrong, and this is the way in which it was proved. When the Hurkaras began repeating their news, whatever did not require inquiry was passed over in silence by Hydur; but, any news which required examination, or was important, after listening to it, he stopped all further talking, and entered seriously into the investigation of its truth.

Hydur Alí was a plain man, and free from vanity or self sufficiency. He was not fond of delicacies, nor particular in what he ate. He gave no orders about his table, but ate whatever they placed before him. His mode of living was, however, not like that of a man of rank, but rather like that of a private soldier. At his table twice a day some of his most intimate friends used to attend, but the shares, and food, of all were alike.

In his dress, also, he was not very particular. He did not wear his Jamah (tunic or coat) often; but a vest, open in front, made of a broad kind of white cloth which is called in India, Doria, that the width of the cloth might allow of its being broad at the breast.

On his head he wore a red turban, of a hundred hands in length, or a yellow turban of Boorhanpoor

manufacture. His trowsers were made of Masulipatam chintz; and he was fond of chintz, the ground of which was white, strewed[o] with flowers. He wore diamond clasps on his wrists, and two or three diamond rings on his fingers. He slept on a small silken carpet; and this, and two or three pillows, were all he required for his bed.

He was not fond of the throne, or state display, unless on the festival of the Eed; when, if some of his friends reminded him of it, he ordered his throne to be spread or arranged in form.

On Tuesdays and Fridays, from the morning to mid-day, no one could enter his presence; for on that day he was shaved. First of all his head was shaved; after that, two barbers sat down, one on each side of him, and pulled out the hair of his beard, whiskers,[p] and eyebrows, with a pair of tweezers. As an instance of his plainness approaching to folly, it is related, that there was in his service a one-eyed man,[q] named Yasín Khan, whose nickname was Wunti Koodri; Wunti, in the Canarese language, signifying one, and Koodri a horse, or the master of one horse. This man always served singly; and, notwithstanding he was asked to accept a Risaldári, (the command of a regiment,) he constantly refused, and for

[o] ريزه [p] سبيل [q] واحد العين

that reason assumed or acquired this name. Between him and Hydur there was frequently a great deal of wit bandied about, in the public Durbar, until, sometimes, it degenerated into abuse. This man at first shaved his beard and whiskers like those of the Nawaub Bahadúr; but, when he became old, he allowed his beard to grow very long. One day, using an indecent expression, the Nawaub asked him—why he allowed his beard to grow so long. In reply, he said, " Men call those eunuchs who shave their beards and moustaches." This was in allusion to Hydur's custom of shaving his beard, and also to the cause of Yasín Khan's following his example, by shaving his.

In the battle fought between the Nawaub and Trimuk Mama, the army of the Nawaub was totally defeated, and his baggage plundered. After the battle, the Mahrattas searched about every where, that they might take Hydur prisoner; and they were all impressed with an opinion, that any man who had his beard and moustaches shaved must be Hydur Náík. In these circumstances, Yasín Khan Wunti Koodri, keeping his eye on the faith and gratitude he owed his master, immediately shaved off his beard and whiskers, and folding a turban round his head, after the manner of Hydur Alí, mounted a large horse, and with three or four horse-

men ranged over the field, as if they were men of rank seeking to escape. As soon, therefore, as the Mahrattas saw them, they made sure that Yasín was no other than Hydur Alí Khan himself; and they seized him and carried him to their officer. In the mean time, however, Hydur Alí by stripping off his clothes,[r] had escaped, and had reached Seringaputtun, the distance being about three Kose (four miles and a half). When the Mahrattas found that Hydur Alí Khan had escaped, and that the man they had taken was Yasín Khan, they released him from confinement, and, from that day, he used in jest to say, that he was the true, or original, Hydur Alí Khan.

It is well known that, from the commencement of his good fortune to his death, Hydur was very fearful of treachery; and, if any ambassador came to him from a foreign State, he took every precaution for his own security. For instance—when the late Nawaub Syud Futteh Alí Khan, and Alí Nowaz Khan, who were sent by Wala Jah with a message to Hydur, first arrived, they were placed in a Hindu temple, the same which he had converted into a fort, while contending with the Raja of Mysore; and, as it was on the bank of the river, the Nawaub Syud Futteh

[r] در لباس هیولا

Khan, from the dampness of the air, was seized with an old complaint, a difficulty of breathing. Of necessity, Hydur was compelled then to send for them to the fort, where he gave them the house of Khundi Rao; but he stationed fifty Hurkaras, (spies), at the gate of their house, that every thing that was said or done might be reported to him daily.

But, leaving alone cases of this kind, his old servants, and the people of the towns in his territory, dared not speak a word to each other in the street. If they were mixed in a crowd, or friendly to each other, the spies seized, and dragged them off to the Durbar, (hall of audience), that they might be punished. In like manner, no one dared to speak privately with another in his assemblies,[8] for fear of his displeasure.

Whoever entered his dominions, had no longer any power or controul over himself; nor had he liberty to return as he came, until he received a pass or permit from Hydur's Government. By his power mankind were held in fear and trembling; and, from his severity, God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories, was the commonest thing im-

[8] مجالس

aginable; and the killing a man there, was thought no more of than the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with an expectation to return safe to it.

If any one arrived in that country, (Mysore), who, from seeing the oppression there exercised, or from other impediments, did not ask for service, he was seized and examined, and was then forced to accept service, or was turned out of the town. If Hydur gave charge of a district on the faith[t] of any one, he had no power to take a farthing from the revenue beyond his own allowance. But if he took any, and it was found out, the money was demanded, and, if paid, well; but if it were not, he was seized and tied with ropes, like a horse, before and behind, and, having been stripped naked, an order was given to flog him with a whip, and a number of Jowal Doze,[u] beat him cruelly over the back and loins, after which salt was thrown upon his wounds. If he complained, he was beaten on the mouth with a shoe; and if he cried, red pepper, dried and pounded, was thrown in his eyes; and he was tortured in this way every day for a month, if he did not agree to pay the money. Besides this, every two or three days, iron spits or rods were made red hot, and he was burned or branded all

[t] اماني

[u] Sewers of leathern bags, &c.

over with them.[v] This was in addition to imprisonment, starvation, and chains. As soon, however, as the delinquent had paid the money, Hydur's rage was softened, and he presented him with shawls, and golden chains, and again offered the same office to the poor man who had just escaped from death. But, if he refused to take it, the fire of Hydur's wrath was rekindled. His cruelty, however, was still greater, when exerted in extorting money from the Hindoos.

The author of the above character says that, for six weeks after Hydur was dead, no one in camp, except a very few of his chief officers[w] knew of his decease. They had heard, indeed, that he was dangerously ill, but no more was known until Tippoo arrived in the camp; the duty in all the departments being carried on with the same regularity as before.

العبد علي الرّاوي

[v] Of Hydur's cruelty there are abundant testimonies.

[w] Meer Muhammad Sadik Khan, Dewaun Gholaum Alí Khan, Bukhshi, Kureem Sáhib, his youngest son, and Kumr-ud-dín Khan, the son of Meer Alí Ruza Khan.

A statement of the number of troops in the service of Hydur Alí Khan, the chief of Seringaputtun, some few years since, added to a memoir of Hydur, by Mirza Ikbal, for Mr. Richard Johnson of Madras.

Hydur Alí's stable horse	5,000
Bede or Pindara horse	4,500
Sillahdárs or men enlisted with their horses and arms.	7,000
Workmen, as masons, bricklayers, &c.	14,000
Bár, or regular infantry . . .	20,000
Attending the Presence or body guard	4,000
Garrisons, and detachments in different parts of the country: exceeding	100,000
Africans from Habsh and Zung Bar .	1,400
Hurkaras, runners, spies . . .	1,700
Pioneers	1,000
Servants of the household, tent Lascars, Chobedárs, &c.	700
Blacksmiths and carpenters in the arsenals at Chundur Nuggur, Seringaputtun, Bangalore, &c. . .	3,200
	162,500

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